

## WHY IS THIS MAN GOING HOME?



**‘... it is clear to observers that the ex-senator from Tarlac plans to rise again ...’**

By **NANCY ROCAMORA**

**I** have chosen to return to the silence of my solitary confinement and from there work for a peaceful solution to our problems rather than come back triumphantly to the blare of trumpets and cymbals seeking to drown the wailings and sad lamentations of mothers whose sons and daughters have been sacrificed to the gods of revolution.”

With that, Benigno “Ninoy” Aquino, never prone to understatement, announced he was going home. In an impassioned speech last June 23 before the House Subcommittee on Asia-Pacific Affairs, Aquino confirmed the long-brewing rumor that he intends to return the first week of August.

The former senator, jailed by Marcos on the night martial law was declared and sentenced to death by firing squad along with Bernabe Buscayno and Victor Corpus, thus ends a three-year stay in the U.S. following heart surgery in 1980. His fellowship at Harvard University ends this year.

Reaction within Aquino’s own circle—the elite opposition—both in the U.S. and in the Philippines remains mixed. Many regard the decision as a noble act of self-sacrifice. (An emotion-laden exchange of letters between Ninoy and his mother is somehow circulating in opposition circles.) Others, however, think the man has gone off the deep end. Why give up the comfort and security of life in exile to return to possible death and imprisonment they ask? Why, indeed, is this man going home?

*Continued on page 6*

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# Warspeak and Racespeak

Not a few liberal commentators, comparing the present administration's behavior with lessons from George Orwell's parable on totalitarianism, 1984, have made the observation that life seems to be dangerously imitating fiction. They are not necessarily off the mark. Consider "doublespeak," a term Orwell coined to denote the euphemistic language used by his 1984 regime. Although not the first to avail of it, the Reagan administration is certainly setting a new record for its usage.

The State Department, for instance, in lobbying for more aid to Reagan's repressive proteges in El Salvador won't admit that there has been absolutely no improvement in the dismal human rights situation there. Instead it tells Congress, "improvement has been slow." Not daring to call the Salvadoran regime democratic, Reagan instead calls it "a government committed to establishing democracy."

In Nicaragua, Reagan is of course not seeking to overthrow popular Sandinista rule; he is just "pressuring" it or "intimidating" it into "changing its ways" by arming not fascist Somocista terrorists, thank you, but "freedom fighters." Sending U.S. warships around Nicaragua is not to blockade it or besiege it or strangle it, but merely to "quarantine" it, as in to quarantine a disease. All this of course, is part of the "U.S.

commitment to peace in Central America," the doublespeak for the undeclared war on the sovereign nation of Nicaragua and for intervention in El Salvador.

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While Orwell anticipated the use of doublespeak by a government bent on waging war, he may not have fully anticipated the use of what may be termed racespeak for the same purpose. In a country that built its wealth on the oppression of Native Americans, Black workers, immigrants of various colors and poorer nations, demagogic appeals to racism and to the supposed superiority of the American nationality are an important reserve for the ruling circle's capacity to wage war.

Thus, Reagan warns that if no popular support for his Central American wars is forthcoming, Americans would soon find their country deluged by "hordes" of Latin refugees or "feetpeople." He is obviously pandering to the simmering resentment over the influx of Indochinese boatpeople. (Of course, there is no resentment over white refugees from socialist Eastern Europe to play up to, nor would he.)

While this agitation is not an exact copy of the Nazi harangues for the purity of the master race—which would be embarrassing in this day and age—it is not altogether different either. As the favorable reception to the repressive Simpson/Mazzoli immigration bill indicates, conjuring up images of non-whites streaming across the borders in their millions, disturbing the tree-shaded sanctity of the American neighborhood and asking for jobs and access to schools is quite an effective galvanizer of White Fear—a misguided fear deep-seated enough to convince people that imperialist war is worthwhile.

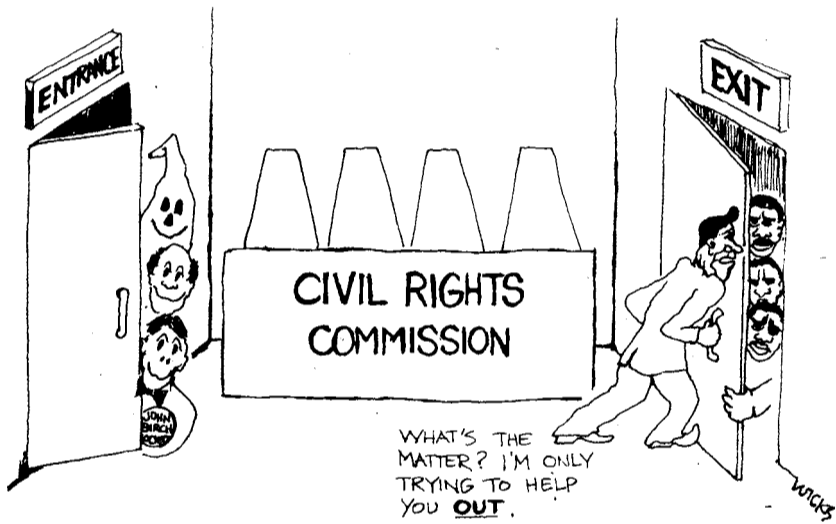
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Orwell's 1984 regime was also severely repressive; and naturally so. In actual life, persuasion and doublespeak have to be combined with repression—to enable

an imperialist state to act at will. This brings to mind the U.S. government's obstinacy in waging war on Nicaragua—even in violation of its own laws; or the Executive Branch's thirst for more power; or the Reagan guidelines freeing the hand of the CIA and the FBI in conducting domestic political surveillance. The drift towards fascism is an important element in the logistics of imperialist war.

In this regard, racespeak is also a deadly tool. If an ideological point must be made through drastic action, use a non-white minority because very few would mind. This tactic proved itself in the forced internment of Japanese-Americans in WWII, creating a patriotic fervor at the expense of citizens whose ticket to tragedy happened to be their ancestry.

If civil liberties are too much of an obstacle to war, restrict that of the minorities first as a beachhead in limiting the rights of everyone else later. The victims of this tactic today reflect the fact that America's current wars are against national liberation movements. Thus, proposed extradition laws, new surveillance rules are particularly aimed at "people with links to foreign powers and international terrorism." Typical is the security preparation for the L.A. Olympics, which according to *Newsweek* places special stress on the surveillance of groups presumed to be potential sources of terrorism such as the Puerto Ricans, Filipinos and Arabs.

The dangerous intersection between war, racism, and repression is indeed reflected in Reaganspeak. But observing that life under Reagan seems to be imitating Orwell's fiction does not mean raising an alarm over the fact that next year is already 1984. Attempts at imitation usually fail to produce exact copies—at least, initially. But the fact that inexact copies are copies just the same should make people watch out for those who doublespeak or *speak with forked tongues*. More likely than not, they are snakes. □



the Laurel Bank. When Laurel promised to behave, the deposit was returned.

Salvador P. Lopez, former secretary of foreign affairs and ex-president of the University of the Philippines, wrote a series of critical articles in several publications abroad. The opposition felt happy at this reborn libertarian, until they heard reports that he accompanied Mrs. Marcos on a trip to Moscow and rumors that he would soon be appointed ambassador to Moscow or China.

Of course, Marcos is an old hand in silencing critical journalists with appointments to high positions, e.g. Jose Luna Castro, ex-editor of *Manila Times*, was named press counsellor to the Philippine Embassy in China; Jose Aguilar Cruz, of the *Daily Mirror*, ambassador to UNESCO; J.V. Cruz and Tupaz also named ambassadors. Ben Peñaranda, former *Chronicle* political reporter, is now top aide to Ambassador Kokoy Romualdez. His salary is paid by Meralco. Former senator Benigno Aquino's recent announcement that he will return to the Philippines, is the greatest Marcos coup. Aquino may be thrown in jail for a while; or placed under house arrest. On the other hand, he may even be appointed Prime Minister in place of Cesar Virata; run for public office in a Marcos-controlled election; or even head a group to coalesce with Marcos—

maybe all with the blessings of the State Department and with the understanding of Marcos. Whatever it is—it is simple surrender, plain collaboration, a disgraceful betrayal of those who have fought and died for true democracy. Aquino may even be made puppet president of the Philippines. But he will have a bigger revolution in his hands. Looks like the Philippines is still looking for a Diogenes or an Andres Bonifacio. Definitely not a Quisling.

Magdalena Adgao  
Sunnyvale, CA

## Letters

### Clever

Dictator Ferdinand Marcos of the Philippines is a clever and astute politician, however repressive he may be. He has manipulated the so-called opposition. Here are a few opposition leaders on the run:

Former Senator Salvador Laurel,

president of UNIDO, the so-called umbrella organization of the opposition. But very few people know that his wife Lorna, is frequently in the company of Mrs. Imelda Marcos. Even the senator's brother, Sotero Laurel, president of Lyceum of the Philippines, is frequently in Malacañang. The talk among Manila bankers is that when Laurel became overly critical of Marcos and led the election boycott, the dictator simply ordered his henchman former Congressman Durano of Cebu to withdraw his ₱20 million deposit in

## Litter from Manila



By INIDORO DELIHENCIA

### Tighten that Budget

The government's huge deficits call for creative budget tightening. One way to trim the budget is to call a spade a spade and combine offices that have essentially the same functions. There is no reason why the Ministry of Information cannot be merged with the Ministry of Defense, or the Supreme Court with the Bureau of Prisons. No need for a Ministry of Labor separate from the Bureau of Animal Industry or a National Assembly distinct from the KBL Public Relations Committee. We should just combine the all offices in charge of economic planning with the Philippine Charity Sweepstakes and the Central Bank with the First Lady's Mastercharge. This way, we do not have to explain to every visiting Tom, Dick, and

Harry how the country really runs. We can then fire Minister Cendaña and save even more money.

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It was truly the wedding of the century. Everybody who is anybody turned out for Irene Marcos' and Gregg Araneta's wedding. All of the country's mayors, governors, national assemblymen, police chiefs, cabinet ministers, and generals, gathered in Sarrat for the glorious—and yes, auspicious occasion. Not only was the wedding blessed by beautiful weather, statistics showed that the crime rate dramatically plunged to an unexplainable low in all corners of the archipelago that day. I heard that people can hardly wait for Bong-Bong's turn at the altar.

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Irene's wedding also put Sarrat, Ilocos Norte on the world map. It also served as the unofficial inaugural for the new Laoag International Airport deep in the heart of Ilocandia. It's International not because the President is preparing to declare Ilocos a separate country, but because it's about time we gave Hong Kong and Tokyo stiff competition for the tourist dollar. I am sure a lot of European and American world class travellers would prefer to stop in Laoag if given the choice. There are of course the airport's unavoidable critics, like these two farmers the PC caught grumbling about the President's

"stupid priorities." Just shows that the NPA has been visiting there too. Those loyal to FM however, are very happy, like local KBL bigwig Mrs. Magna Nacao. She's not a bit worried about the expected crush of foreigners at Laoag International. "Of course, I won't mind having them. I have absolutely nothing against Visayans, Tagalogs or Kapampangans."

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There is a big rumor that the First Lady's brother, Kokoy Romualdez, is succeeding Carlos P. Romulo as Foreign Minister. Kokoy is mum and non-committal, saying only, "Certainly, everything is uncertain but who knows for sure and besides I don't want the job if it is not given to me." CPR however, is already giving him advice on how to do well in the post. The retiring grandee of Philippine diplomacy told me himself: "He doesn't have to smile all the time to be a good diplomat. Foreign dignitaries might think he's a pimp." Could be very embarrassing. "He also does not have to shake hands with everyone he meets, like he does. The British ambassador's Doberman doesn't want to be bothered like that." Could be very painful. "He should also challenge himself a bit by trying to carry on even just five minutes of serious conversation." Could be very useful. "But on the whole, he won't have a hard time given the overall state of our foreign policy." □



## R.P.'s Schoolteachers

# No Longer Suffering in Silence

By NENE OJEDA

On January 5, 1983, the first school day following the Christmas holidays, 20 of Manila's 78 public elementary schools were altogether without teachers. By the end of the week, all public elementary schools remained strangely quiet. The teachers were back behind their desks, but their pupils were nowhere to be seen. The children had been asked not to come to class. In silent recognition of their teachers' needs and in support of their efforts to attain a living wage, the children remained at home.

Metro-Manila's 11,000 public elementary school teachers deliberately avoided a walkout. They did not violate a single civil service code. But, with the sympathy and support of students and parents, their silent strike represented the Philippines' first labor dispute of the year.

The teachers had much to protest. At issue was a salary rollback and pay deduction started in July last year. Two years ago, President Ferdinand E. Marcos had granted public school teachers a 36% pay raise in order to avert a nationwide walkout. In June of last year the raise was suddenly discovered to have been a "computer error." The teachers' already meagre incomes were cut back 15% and the past year's "overpayment" deducted from their monthly paychecks.

Moreover, the much publicized and awaited Christmas bonus promised all government employees by the President, as of January 5, remained to be distributed to the school teachers. Worse, many public school teachers had yet to collect their December paychecks.

Following confrontations with Education and Budget ministry officials who in the end offered only sympathy, the teachers demanded and received an audience with President Marcos. As a result, an executive order dated January 22, 1983, stopped the pay deductions. Teachers and students plunged enthusiastically back into the business of education.

The teachers' January protest was greeted with anything but warmth by the government-controlled media. One editorial denounced the tactics as representing the degeneration of a once respectable profession. The teachers, it said, have sunk to the level of ordinary union members. "The pupils do not deserve such teachers," the editorial insisted.

But the deterioration of the teachers' professional status happened long before they decided to take up the type of tactics used successfully by workers everywhere.

Education has always been valued in the Philippines. It meant a betterment of life for many. The *maestra* who taught the rudiments of reading, writing and arithmetic, was held with esteem. To her was entrusted the task of preparing the country's future.

But today's teachers are the most exploited and oppressed of Philippine professionals. They are grossly underpaid and overworked; their rights to organize and demand higher wages and better working conditions denied.

Philippine teachers number some 350,000 with 275,000 teaching public elementary schools. They make up 60.2% of the country's professionals.

But unlike most professionals, teachers are salaried employees. With an average monthly wage of ₱904 (\$82), most teachers earn less than Metro-Manila Aides, the glorified streetweeping corps employed by Metro-Manila Governor Imelda Marcos. Even state college instructors, paid at a starting rate of ₱1,040, earn ₱160 less than a street cleaner.

They lead cleanliness and beautification drives. They supervise planting for Marcos' "Green Revolution." Public high school teachers are assigned to oversee the regime's paramilitary training programs.

With only ₱3.4 billion out of the total national budget of ₱41 billion allotted to education, not only are salaries minimal but school facilities and equipment are sorely lacking, some falling apart. Instructors often have to dig into their own pockets to provide pencils and paper to their pupils.

Teachers are also levied some ₱20-50 monthly to help finance girl and boy scout programs, anti-TB campaigns, even barangay beauty contests. When Ministry of Education officials visit, local teachers are expected to provide food, lodging and other expenses.

As a "civic contribution" public school teachers have little choice but to double as family planning counsellors, often making home visits to teach birth control methods.

## 'Teachers barely manage to keep their heads above the poverty levels set by the government.'

Teachers barely manage to keep their heads above the poverty levels set by the government. To keep up with the spiralling cost of living, they are forced into extra money-making sidelines. With some luck, college instructors are able to undertake private research projects or consultancy. But most elementary and high school teachers resort to "buy-and-sell"—textiles, jewelry, *tosino*, *longanisa*—dealing mostly with their own colleagues on installment basis. It is not uncommon to see advertisements calling on teachers to earn extra cash selling toys or tupperware. Insurance or memorial plan agents are often full-time or former teachers.

The sidelines very often come on top of two, even three shifts of students a day. On top of a double load of students to teach and papers to grade, teachers are expected to do school administrative and clerical tasks. They handle enrollment, type and submit lesson plans, and complete other class reports before the school day even begins.

One survey reports that public school teachers must undertake an average of 94

They sometimes double as census takers.

Teachers traditionally donate at least three days time every time an election comes around to serve as poll watchers and counters for the Commission on Elections. The imposition of martial law in 1972 meant teachers had to do their time for countless referendums, plebiscites and elections. Their roles in these rigged exercises have earned the regime condemnations for having forced "teachers" to become "cheaters."

Civil service codes insure that government employees remain silent in the face of harsh and unfair working conditions. Those public school teachers who marched side by side with students, workers, and peasants in the wave of nationalist protest during the late '60s and early '70s, have been especially threatened.

School officials are authorized to take "disciplinary action"—i.e. dismiss faculty members who "engage in activities inimical to the goals of the New Society." Such activities include demanding wage increases and organizing for trade union representation. Education is included among "vital industries," making strikes prohibited.

Government control extends well beyond the activities of teachers inside and outside the classroom. It extends to the curriculum itself. Teachers may be expected to impart knowledge and mould the thinking of the nation's youth, but what the youth are to think is determined not by educators but by a group of economists operating under the National Economic Development Authority and guided by the World Bank.

Education, says NEDA, should go hand in hand with the development of vital industries. Thus NEDA developed a Five Year Education Plan to complement the government's thrust toward export-led industrialization. The country's educational system is to turn out the necessary skilled manpower and middle-level technicians to work the factories.

The Education Act of 1980 aims to restructure the country's educational system to meet these needs. A \$100 million World Bank loan funds the planned changes in the public elementary school curriculum. Subjects will be cut down to just three for the first three years: English, Reading and Arithmetic. An additional subject, a broad Social Studies meant to promote the New Society and its goals, will be added for the last three years of public elementary school.

Meanwhile, following recommendations of various World Bank study projects, the country has embarked on establishing vocational training centers to churn out mechanics and technicians. These would provide the manpower needed by the industrial plants located near the training centers.

To complete the changed thrust of the country's educational system, a special task was assigned the teachers by Department Order No. 42: "Mount an intensive information campaign directed at a better understanding of Proclamation No. 1081 [the imposition of martial law] and all orders and decrees pursuant to it."

Teachers are becoming increasingly distressed by the content of the curriculum they teach.

Buoyed by the resurgence of the student movement, teachers have taken a keen interest in the thrust of the country's educational system. They have begun to struggle for an educational system which meets the children's—and the country's—genuine needs at the same time struggling for their own rights.

A national organization, the Alliance of Concerned Teachers, promises to be a genuine representative of the teachers' sector. Although started only in June last year, ACT has become influential not only because of the size of its membership, but because of the various and successful protest actions it has spearheaded.

ACT condemns the government's educational policies as the "perpetuation of a colonial and repressive framework that facilitates and nourishes a system of exploitation dictated by foreign and local elites."

Students and teachers together fueled national interest in the Education Act of 1980 (Parliamentary Bill No. 524) three years ago. Protest after protest contributed to the bill's long drawn out and controversial passage. Education Minister Onofre Corpus, who authored the bill, barely managed to maneuver its survival in September 1982, just in time for "Education Week."

The prospect of a militant anti-colonial and anti-fascist teaching force determined to have a say in Philippine educational policy is highly unsettling to the Marcos regime. A politicized crop of teachers moulding the outlook of today's youth represents a political time bomb Marcos does not want to have to deal with or bequeath to his successor. On top of that, the teachers themselves are a potent force within Philippine society.

The emergence of ACT and the trend towards militance within a sizeable segment of this sector is most significant. As it grows in size and strength, it will come increasingly into conflict with the regime. Is a crackdown on the nation's teachers soon to become an item on Ferdinand Marcos' agenda? □

# Buod ng mga Balita

## DAVAO DETAINEES LAUNCH PROTEST FAST

Political detainees at the Davao City PC/INP Detention Center last June 12 launched a fast to protest the prison's dehumanizing conditions. The decision to hold the indefinite fast came after the detainees sent two letters of petition to local military authorities explaining their plight. Neither petition has been acknowledged and their situation, the detainees claim, has gotten worse.

Detention at the center, the petitions said, has meant poor food, being padlocked in small crowded cells for as long as 23 hours a day, no access to medical treatment, visits limited to immediate family members, and other restrictions. Some of the petitions' signatories, including minors under 18, remain detained without formal charges. Those emotionally scarred by torture continue to be placed under detention. The prisoners further protested the continued practice of transferring detainees to unspecified locations for interrogation and torture.

The prisoners are determined to continue their fast until their demands are met. They are appealing to those concerned with their plight for support and solidarity. They acknowledge that while their form of protest has been used effectively before, it may be a while before the Davao military authorities hear their plea. Unlike their counterparts in Metro-Manila's Bicutan Detention Center, the Davao prisoners lack access to local and foreign media.

The Coalition Against the Marcos Dictatorship/Philippine Solidarity Network has launched an Urgent Action Letter Campaign in support of the Davao Detainees. All are urged to send letters to Minister Juan Ponce Enrile, Ministry of National Defense, demanding that the detainees' petition be heard and their demands be met. □



Herminio Disini

Roberto Benedicto

## MARCOS HANDS OUT FAVORS TO CRONIES

Crony-capitalism is far from dead in the Philippines. In spite of biting exposés in the international media and disapproving glances from international financing institutions, Ferdinand Marcos' favorites—and not so coincidentally business frontmen—continue to get special treatment from the Philippine government.

*Far Eastern Economic Review* reports that Marcos has signed two presidential decrees and renewed a letter of instruction giving three close associates either greater leverage over their associates or tightening their control over present monopolies.

On May 18, Marcos signed Presidential Decree No. 1863 which expanded Eduardo Cojuangco's already near-total control over the coconut industry. Cojuangco, together with Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile, already controls the milling, export, and most important, financing of the coconut industry via the semi-government monopoly UNICOM and the United Coconut Planters Bank. PD 1863 gives this combine control over downstream operations of the coconut industry as well.

Low international prices for competing grain oils have sent the Philippine coconut industry into a tailspin. Since one-third of the agricultural population plants coconuts, this has devastating effects. Rather than plan crop diversification, the Philippine government has attempted to find out what else it might do with its glut of coconut oil. This plus continuing high

prices for petroleum products gave birth to the new cocochemical industry.

Cojuangco, with control over downstream operations, thus extends his tentacles to embrace a budding new industry. The decree meanwhile offers tax breaks and other incentives to cocochemical users. Once the cocoplants become operational, products using petrochemical derivatives will be banned. PD 1863 will allow petrochemical imports only when local coco producers cannot keep up with local needs.

Meanwhile—not quite so dramatically—Marcos signed PD 1858 last January 14 favoring crony and cousin-in-law Herminio Disini whose sun has apparently not quite set in spite of the near collapse of his economic kingdom last year. PD 1858 lowers the import duties on acetate fibers used in cigarette filters from 20% to 10% through 1985. Disini's Philippine Tobacco Filters Corp. controls 75% of the filter market. A 1975 decree increasing tariffs from 10% to 100% drove Disini's only competitor at the time out of the market and propelled PFTC into the near monopoly position he currently enjoys. The 1975 filter flap was Disini's first step toward becoming one of the Philippines' top businessmen in a mere five-year period.

Finally, Letter of Instruction 640 reaffirms a 1977 favor done to Filipino sugar magnate Roberto Benedicto. Benedicto, who controls the entire Philippine sugar industry through yet another semi-government monopoly PHILSUCOM, has been given an edge over his rivals in the TV set assembly business.

The original LOI allowed Benedicto to import knocked-down TV sets duty-free—for government use. The assembled sets were to be distributed by the Ministry of Information, the Ministry of Education and Culture and the Ministry of National Defense for dissemination of government propaganda in the troubled Philippine south.

The sets, however, wound up being sold in Metro-Manila appliance shops alongside others whose manufacturers pay the normal tariffs. In spite of complaints by rival manufacturers and consumers, the new LOI allows Benedicto's Nivico, Philippines, Inc. to continue the duty-free imports. □

## VIRATA CONTROVERSY JUST WON'T DIE

Philippine cabinet members last June 2, passed a resolution to file for libel against the *Asian Wall Street Journal*. The cabinet was responding to an article dated May 27-28 which refers to Prime Minister Cesar Virata as "the only honest man in the Philippines." Justice Minister Ricardo Puno has been appointed to look into the lawsuit possibilities.

The article in question traces Virata's rise and quotes admiring local and foreign businessmen praising the technocrat. International Monetary Fund-World Bank control of the Philippine economy provoked the assault on Virata and other technocrats which is the subject of the *ASWJ* account (see story, page 11).

KBL members accuse the prominent business newspaper of false and irresponsible reporting. A number of angry rebuttals have since appeared on the *AWSJ's* editorial page.

Equally galling to the members of Marcos' *Kilusan Bagong Lipunan* who launched the initial attack on Virata was the Prime Minister's reception at a dinner hosted by the Philippine Chamber of Commerce and Industry shortly after the *AWSJ* flap. The 1,000 foreign and local businessmen gave the controversial Virata a five-minute standing ovation in an unqualified expression of support. Former Minister of Industry Vicente Paterno, speaking for the assembled delegates explained, "We are tonight united by a concern for the economy and its effective management." Two of Manila's crony-owned newspapers printed identically worded stories labelling the affair a "seemingly over-exaggerated" show of support for Virata.

Both the suit and the anger at the PCCI are reflections of continuing crony-technocrat tension. It is unlikely that much will be done on either front since Marcos, who stirred up the controversy from the sidelines to begin with, has already given the signal to back off. Nonetheless, crony resentment still simmers and several KBL members have blustered off the record to the international press that they plan to call a no-confidence vote for Virata when the Interim *Bata-sang Pambansa* reconvenes. □

## THE WEDDING



Irene and Greggy exchanging vows; small private wedding cost Marcoses a mere ₱30 million. ASIaweek

The people of Sarrat, Ilocos Norte discovered last June just what it takes to have an old town fallen into genteel dilapidation fully renovated: a wedding. A wedding, that is, by a member of the Marcos family.

June 11 witnessed the vows of Victoria Irene Marcos, youngest child of President Ferdinand Marcos, and Gregorio Araneta III of the multi-millionaire Araneta family. The bride and groom had expressed a wish for a small, quiet ceremony, but that was before the bride's mother, First Lady Imelda R. Marcos, took over.

Mrs. Marcos is known for her skill at orchestrating extravaganzas. "Ma'am is a Cecil B. de Mille when it comes to these things," remarked close friend and banana magnate Antonio Florendo.

The First Lady left no stone unturned in her determination to recreate the atmosphere of a small Philippine town 200 years ago, at the same time insuring the utmost in comfort for her guests. The church was renovated, plaster peeled off to reveal the red brick underneath. Houses were redecorated, some even rebuilt. A new house was built a few blocks from the church for Irene to dress in. New homes were built to house the guests as was a hotel.

Three thousand workers, most of them soldiers, worked for 30 days to refurbish the birthplace of Ferdinand Marcos. All told, the affair reportedly cost the Marcoses ₱30 million.

For that traditional Philippine touch, Mrs. Marcos had Italian designer Renato Balestra produce a Maria Clara gown for the bride. Appropriate music for the ceremony was provided by the 86-piece Philippine Philharmonic Orchestra and the Philippine Madrigal Choir.

The 1,000 guests included Imelda's traditional jet-set crew—Christina Ford, Hong Kong shipping magnate Y.K. Pao, et al. It was necessary to build a new airport to accommodate the sudden influx.

Officiating was the groom's uncle, Jesuit priest Fr. Francisco Araneta. In what was seen to be a slight, Fr. Araneta delivered a 23-minute sermon without once mentioning the name of Ferdinand Marcos. The *Metro-Manila Times* labelled the sermon "extremely boring and egoistic." Sorry, Imelda. Even a Marcos can't have it perfect. □

# 'Doctor-Turned-Rebel' Tortured; Killed

By CARLA MARIANO

"When people disappear involuntarily, when people are killed off in a brutal manner, it is only legitimate and just that other people become alarmed and raise their concern," stated the petition authored by the family, colleagues and friends of the late Dr. Juan B. Escandor and the missing Yolanda Gordula.

On April 6, the family of Dr. Escandor, known as Johnny, positively identified his body at St. Peter's Memorial Chapel in Quezon City. The April 2 *Times Journal* had printed in detail a police report submitted by Maj. Vicente Raval, Metrocom Reaction Strike Force Commander, regarding an "encounter" along Bohol Avenue in Quezon City in which a certain Juan Barrameda was killed.

Later, at the Philippine Constabulary Crime Laboratory in Camp Crame, the body was identified by the military as that of "physician-turned-rebel leader" Juan B. Escandor.

Johnny Escandor thus becomes the second people's doctor to be killed within the space of barely over a year. On April 23, 1982, Dr. Bobby de la Paz, the popular poor man's doctor of Catbalogan, Samar was shot by a man who walked into his clinic and pumped 11 .45-calibre bullets into his body. His murderer was never caught and was widely suspected to be a military agent.

The PCCL death certificate set 3:00 a.m. March 31, 1983, as the time of Johnny's death. PCCL representatives contacted St. Peter's to take his body on that date. Yet Raval's report claimed that Johnny died at 3:05 a.m. on April 1. The PCCL withheld both its autopsy report and Johnny's personal effects from his family when they came to pick up the body. All they were given was a pair of blood-stained jeans. Johnny's shirt was missing.

Inconsistencies between the police and PCCL reports and the state of Johnny's body convinced his family and friends that the slain was a victim of "salvaging"—a cynical term coined by the Philippine military to mean the brutal execution of political prisoners without ever bringing

them to jail let alone to trial.

## TORTURE— UNMISTAKABLE EVIDENCE

Johnny's brother, Atty. Ireneo Escandor and his sister Zenaida Enaje signed affidavits swearing that the doctor was not killed in an encounter, but tortured and shot at close range. They asserted that when they saw the body, there were discolorations on the forehead and in the area of the right eye. The eyeball appeared to be missing beneath a depressed, closed eyelid. The lips were swollen and Johnny's formerly full moustache was patchy as if forcibly pulled out. An ominous little black hole appeared on the neck just below the right ear. Four other bullet holes were to be found, three in the abdomen and one in the right leg.

In search of more decisive evidence, friends led by Dr. Jimmy Zamuco of the University of the Philippines Pathology Department travelled to Johnny's final resting place in Gubat, Sorsogon, to conduct their own post-mortem a month and a half after the doctor's death.

The contents of the coffin told a damning tale. Inside the skull, instead of the brain, they found dirty rags, socks and soiled briefs wrapped in plastic. The brain, which showed unmistakable signs of hematoma or bruising, was found stuffed inside the body with the other organs. There were multiple fractures and hemorrhages from the earbones to the back of the skull and possible hemorrhages in almost all of the vital organs—all positively pointing to severe torture before the victim was executed.

## COMPANION MISSING

Meanwhile, less certain was the case of Yolanda Gordula, the young woman last seen with the doctor on March 30. The two left a friend's house in Caloocan City at 9:00 that evening for another appointment. Since then, Gordula has neither returned to Bulacan, where she was vacationing with relatives, nor to her home in Sampaloc. The police report regarding Johnny's death makes no mention of Yolanda.

The young woman's family is desperate for Gordula has severe health problems and must take five kinds of medication three times daily. The medicine was left



Johnny Escandor

behind in Bulacan.

Gordula's sister, Letty, searched the hospitals, morgues and detention centers in Metro-Manila. After fruitless inquiries to the Ministry of National Defense, the Civil Relations Department, and the Office for Detainee Affairs, she finally filed for a writ of habeas corpus last April 21 with the Supreme Court. She named as respondents Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile, Armed Forces Chief of Staff Fabian Ver, Vice-Chief Fidel Ramos, and Chief of the Metropolitan Intelligence Service Group Rolando Abadilla. A continued search was ordered by the court.

## WHO WAS JOHNNY AND WHY WAS HE KILLED?

Juan Escandor graduated from the U.P. College of Medicine in 1969 and went on to specialize as a cancer expert. But throughout his career, both as a student and as a professional, he retained a strong commitment to satisfying his people's needs. He was a founding member of the *Kabataang Makabayan*, the revolutionary organization which did so much to revitalize the entire progressive movement in the Philippines. He founded a KM chapter in Gubat and, immediately after he graduated, started the Sorsogon Progressive Movement.

During the early seventies, Johnny used his professional skills to assist the victims of the Central Luzon floods. While working at Philippine General Hospital in Manila, he actively took up struggles for workers' rights. He became a member of the *Progresibong Kilusang Medikal* (Progressive Medical Movement).

The U.P. College of Medicine, Class of

1969, paid tribute to Dr. Juan Escandor by calling him "one who was an example of social concern and unselfishness to the point of giving up his life for a cause."

The Marcos regime, however, was not impressed by Johnny's social concern or his unselfishness. Calling him a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Philippines, it had put a ₱180,000 price on his head. Johnny, said military sources, was a ranking New People's Army commander in Cagayan. He was wanted dead or alive. The regime directed at him that particular hatred it reserves for a professional who leaves behind the good life to take up the gun.

One eulogy for Johnny read: "When men carry the same ideas in their hearts, nothing can keep them isolated, neither the walls of prisons nor the sod of cemeteries, for a single memory, a single spirit, a single consciousness, a single dignity will sustain them all."

Meanwhile a belated report from Nueva Ecija reveals the loss of yet another prominent revolutionary opponent of Ferdinand Marcos. Sources in that province report that Alex Boncayao, prominent labor leader and LABAN candidate for the Interim *Batasang Pambansa* during the fraud-ridden 1978 election was killed in an NPA encounter with government troops.

The outspoken Boncayao, former union president at Manila's Solid Mills, was selected by the LABAN slate to represent the labor sector. He had already been detained four times for union activities under martial law at the time.

During the campaign, Boncayao repeatedly demanded an end to martial law and the withdrawal of U.S. military bases. He challenged yellow labor leader Roberto Oca, running on Marcos' *Kilusang Bagong Lipunan* ticket, to debate on workers' issues. Oca declined.

In spite of the immense popularity of LABAN, which drew millions to its rallies and, on election eve, provoked the largest demonstration to date under martial law, not a single of the 21 LABAN candidates from Metro-Manila won. Local and international observers cited massive fraud. A vicious crackdown immediately following the elections drove Boncayao underground ultimately to join the NPA.

The details of his death are not known to date, but observers here commented, "Boncayao knew at the time he agreed to run for election that it was extremely dangerous to espouse anti-Marcos or anti-imperialist sentiments openly. The logic of his views could only lead to the NPA where he gave his life for what he believed in." □

## NPA Marks Gains

"U.S. imperialism will play a bigger role—not only through the military bases—but also in strategic planning," notes a belatedly-received March issue of *Ang Bayan*, news organ of the Communist Party of the Philippines. Marking the 14th anniversary of the founding of the New People's Army, the issue cites the NPA's gains and lessons of the past year. At the same time, *Ang Bayan* looks ahead to the coming year and the increasing U.S. role in counterinsurgency warfare.

The gains are impressive enough: in the 11 months from March 1982 to February 1983, over 300 tactical offenses, 150 of them in Mindanao alone and 1,000 high-powered weapons netted. Emphasis was placed upon consolidation of NPA territory already held, which included the setting up of more militia units.

The Red Fighters attributed their increased fighting capacity to the study and education campaign that gained momentum within its ranks in 1982. They also noted the important role played by the Moro National Liberation Front and its Bangsa Moro Army in preventing the Armed Forces of the Philippines from focusing its strength on any one spot. Military coordi-



NPA on the move; people's army notes over 300 tactical offenses in 11 months, 1,000 weapons netted.

nation between the two groups led to warmer relations between them.

The Marcos regime has met the growing NPA threat with stepped-up military equipment including helicopters, warships, armoured personnel carriers and sometimes tanks and fighter-bombers. But the regime is "bugged by problems," claims *Ang Bayan*, including poor communications, slow arrival of troop reinforcement, lack of discipline, and poor morale.

The regime's plan to confront these

problems and "deodorize the AFP" is contained within the civic action program, Project *Katatagan*. This, claims *Ang Bayan*, "is being carried out on the orders of U.S. military planners." The NPA likens *Katatagan* to the U.S.-guided civic action program under the late President Ramon Magsaysay used against the Huks. This was only successful, *Ang Bayan* notes because of the incorrect politics of the Huks at the time.

Although *Ang Bayan* notes the impor-

tance of the growing U.S. involvement in Philippine counterinsurgency, at the same time it points out that the U.S. cannot be quite as generous with Marcos as he would like because, "Many other puppet regimes are clamoring for assistance—particularly in Central America which is in the U.S.' own backyard." The NPA also expressed its confidence that the American people will protest the U.S. role in backing the Philippine dictator. □

# Going Home . . .

Continued from front page

U.S. Secretary of State George Schultz's arrival in Manila a mere two days after Aquino's revelation sheds some light on the mystery. While glasses clinked and the sweet talk flowed between Marcos and Schultz, members of the latter's entourage whispered to the press that, for the first time since Ronald Reagan took office, the U.S. government is seeking ties with the opposition. Not with the national democratic left, of course, but with the politicians that Marcos disenfranchised.

Why is Reagan singing a new note? A member of Schultz's party put it bluntly: "The Marcos government is entering its twilight and we don't want to find ourselves in the same position as we did when the Shah was overthrown."

At least one of the State Department crew worried openly that the troubled Philippine economy, widespread corruption in the military and Marcos' failure to groom a successor could allow a takeover by leaders less sympathetic to U.S. interests. Others expressed



Schultz accompanies Marcos on his U.S. visit; the sweet talk may have flowed in Malacanang, but Schultz was interested in the opposition. N. Rocamora

concern about the possibility of violent change. For the first time, the Reagan administration seems aware that unqualified U.S. support for Marcos might push potential allies irredeemably to the left.

Having given Marcos a *carte blanche*, Reagan has left the basically pro-U.S. but anti-Marcos liberals that compose the elite opposition stranded. With Malacañang cracking down on all shades of opposition, and with the White House giving no signs of openings, the anti-Marcos liberals have become increasingly anti-U.S. in rhetoric. This has steadily given the entire opposition movement a leftist tinge, thereby increasing credibility of the National Democratic Front's political positions.

Fond as he is of Ferdinand, Reagan has no desire to help drive the Filipinos into the open arms of the NDF. He intends to retain U.S. influence long after Marcos' sun sets, an event Schultz' people predict for sometime in the mid-80s. Reagan's image as a rightwing ideologue often obscures the fact that he is a rightwing pragmatist. Thus, he is not averse to making shifts in policy if it would secure the U.S. position in the Philippines in the long run.

The Philippines is simply too important for the U.S. to lose. On the military front, Clark Air Base and Subic Bay Naval Base remain logistical launching pads for U.S. military power well beyond Southeast Asia. At the same time, the Philippines, with its "special relationship," plays a critical role politically and diplomatically for the U.S. by acting as its foremost surrogate within the Association of Southeast Asian Nations or ASEAN. That role has become even more crucial of late with the reversals in the U.S. scenario against Kampuchea and Vietnam. (See box.)

Reagan and company are thus extremely concerned with the stability and continuity of its client regime in Manila given Marcos' age and failing health. A smooth transition has to be worked out so that the post-Marcos Philippines remains safe within the U.S. corral.

U.S. foreign policy specialists therefore are faced with the delicate task of securing a Marcos regime without Marcos. The succeeding government must be loyal to U.S. interests. Thus, it must incorporate, the present ruling coalition and make sure factional interests are carefully mediated—a task Marcos has so skillfully filled. The successor regime must also be popular with the military. After all, it must be able to meet the danger of insurgency. If possible, it must have better credibility, in order to stem the leftward drift in popular anti-government sentiments.

The Marcos camp—Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile, Armed Forces Chief of Staff Fabian Ver, Vice-

Chief of Staff Fidel Ramos, Prime Minister Cesar Virata, and First Lady Imelda Romualdez Marcos—has most of the combination of qualities needed. However, there is no telling how, without Marcos on the scene, his cabal would be able to handle factional disputes. Also, this ruling camp is hopelessly besmirched domestically and internationally. The U.S. clearly needs horses in reserve either to function in combination with the Marcosless Marcos camp to give it some credibility or to take over if Marcos' political heirs become too fractious to rule effectively. This is why Reagan is taking a second look at the elite opposition.

Washington's sudden interest is breathing new life into the elite opposition. Through Aquino, they were appraised of the new signals from the State Department, several months before the Schultz visit. Much of their renewed activity centers around the coming 1984 elections to the Interim *Batasang Pambansa* which is apparently seen as the best way to be positioned for the expected policy changes by Washington. The Pilipino Democratic Party and the Christian Democratic Party both registered early with the Commission on Elections. The umbrella organization, UNIDO, or United Nationalist Democratic Opposition, recently registered as well. The old Nacionalista Party has been revived and there is talk of reviving the Liberal Party as well.

Even more significant are the efforts by a broad group of politicians which recently thrust itself into the political limelight by publishing a "Formula for National Reconciliation." Signers of the statement include Marcos' former vice-president Fernando Lopez, former senators Ambrosio Padilla, Eva Estrada Kalaw, Francisco "Soc" Rodrigo, Decoroso Rosales, Dominador Aytana, Salvador Laurel, and Lorenzo Tañada; former Supreme Court Justice Jesus Barrera, and former House Speaker Jose B. Laurel.

The "Formula" advocate amnesty for political offenders, repeal of the anti-subversion law, abolition of Presidential Commitment Orders and discontinuation of "military involvement in civilian matters."

At the same time, it is clear that the politicians want very much to participate in the election and desperately hope to avoid a left-led boycott. (The NDF was highly successful in exposing the farcical character of Marcos' last elections and his heavy-handed manipulation via such techniques in 1981. In fact, the extent of popular support for the boycott movement forced the elite opposition to join in grudgingly if it wished to maintain its credibility.)

In an effort to head off a boycott at the pass before 1984 comes around, the "Formula" appeals to "our brothers in the armed opposition to give democratic processes a last chance by joining us in the forthcoming elections and to demand that they be free, orderly, honest."

In spite of this new excitement, the pickings for the U.S. remain relatively slim. The pre-martial law politicians have aged, some too much to be of long-term use. The repressive character of post-martial law Philippine society has limited the rise of a new generation of liberal politicians. Even some "Young Turks" have been touched by nationalism and Reagan's folks look upon them with distrust. Most lack the dynamism and the international stature to play the role the U.S. needs.

Benigno Aquino is returning home against this backdrop. "I feel I have to be with my people at this critical moment in Philippine history," he told the U.S. Congress solemnly.

In fact, the decision comes as no great surprise to experienced Aquino-watchers. The former senator told other opposition forces during the Marcos visit last September that U.S. State Department representatives consulted with him on the succession question. The *Far Eastern Economic Review* ran a brief story over a month ago hinting that Aquino was house-hunting in Metro-Manila. He told this writer not long ago that he intended to return home soon.

Aquino also reportedly met with Mrs. Marcos, and State Department representatives to inform them of his decision and was promised nothing by either. But just in case the Reagan administration is looking his way, Ninoy is making sure there is enough distance between himself and the left. Although he has been far more cooperative with the NDF supporters in the U.S. than his counterparts in the Movement for a Free Philippines have been, Aquino stressed before Congress his opposition to revolution and his commitment to non-violence. Quoting former President Ramon Magsaysay, known for his CIA connections and his military suppression of the Huk Rebellion, he vowed to "fight fire with water" and pledged "this bloodletting must stop."

Aquino is clearly setting himself up as the voice of moderation, the unifier, and can be expected to be the most prominent advocate of "national reconciliation." "Bloodletting" among Filipinos will stop, he told Congress, not with the removal of Ferdinand Marcos, but "if all Filipinos can get together as true brothers and sisters and search for a healing solution."

Aquino claims that he himself has no plans to participate in the 1984 elections, though he hopes to revive the defunct Liberal Party. Instead, he will simply

"interact" with the opposition during the coming polls. But it is clear to observers that the ex-senator from Tarlac plans to rise again and possibly even play a prominent role in the succession process. And why not? Given the decisiveness of his plans, Ninoy is definitely aware of his aces and how attractive these are to the U.S. Didn't U.S. officials deliberately exclude him from the U.S. Grand Jury probe of the terrorist bombings in Manila because, as one of them said, "He might be the next president of the Philippines?"

A consummate politician, Aquino possesses some of Marcos' skills at political juggling. He is smart enough to flirt with all significant opposition forces including the National Democratic Front and the Moro National Liberation Front, while remaining quietly pro-U.S. His years in Marcos' prisons provide him with an international image as Marcos' leading opponent. Meanwhile, his image as a "clean" pre-martial law politician and his popularity with other elite oppositionists give him the potential for building a substantial base quickly. "Events are passing him by," remarked fellow ex-senator Ramon Mitra of Aquino. "But," he added, "Ninoy can make up for lost time."

Continued on page 11

## Why is Reagan Going to Manila?

Is it just because Ronnie and Nancy couldn't bear to snub Ferdinand and Imelda this coming November when they swing through Asia? Is it just a social call? Or is there something more behind it?

In fact, there is a great deal behind it. Not only is Marcos landlord to two of the most vital U.S. military installations in Asia, he serves as foremost spokesman for U.S. policy within the Association of Southeast Asian Nations.

The anti-communist, pro-U.S. ASEAN performs an invaluable function to the U.S. in its efforts to isolate Vietnam, Laos, and Kampuchea, the socialist bloc in the region. The Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea and the overthrow of the vicious Pol Pot regime provided the U.S., acting principally through Marcos and his representatives, with the ideal issue around which to rally ASEAN sentiments against Vietnam.

With the obvious success of Kampuchea in bringing back economic and political order after Pol Pot, the equation is beginning to shift. Vietnam is withdrawing troops from the Thai-Kampuchea border areas as the Heng Samrin regime stabilizes. Rifts are becoming more glaring within the anti-communist coalition led by former Prince Norodom Sihanouk as it reeled from recent military defeats. Vietnam, in turn, recently launched its own regional diplomatic offensive which has met with some success.

Vietnamese Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach, made the rounds of the ASEAN nations a mere 10 days before the arrival of U.S. Secretary of State George Schultz. His message: Vietnam is interested in discussing plans for the region minus the Kampuchea issue.

Reaction within the ASEAN nations varied. Some remained adamant in their pro-U.S. stand. Others are wavering, knowing that Kampuchea's stabilization would also mean increased international credibility for Vietnam's reason for intervening against Pol Pot. Some can be expected to quietly sue for peaceful co-existence. Would perhaps a more nonaligned stance be appropriate for a Southeast Asian nation at this juncture?

Such indecision is intolerable to the U.S. Ronald Reagan has his hands full in Central America and the Palestine issue is bubbling on the back burner. He can hardly afford another crisis in a previously stable region. The U.S. thus recently moved on a variety of fronts—overt and otherwise—to bring the ASEAN nations back into line.

Reports from Manila reveal that CIA Director William Casey met secretly some time in early April with Ferdinand Marcos and none other than the infamous Nguyen Cao Ky a former vice-president of South Vietnam known as a CIA boy. On the diplomatic front, Schultz was dispatched to round up the wayward cattle in ASEAN which Reagan hopes to corral and brand during his November visit.

But Reagan still needs his reliable herd dog in the region to spare Schultz' valuable time for crises elsewhere—such as the Middle East to which he was abruptly summoned in the midst of his Asia tour. He must be loyal to Reagan, willing to do his bidding, help keep the other nations in line and bark loudly if trouble looms.

Thus, as Schultz emphasized during a Malacañang toast, the relationship between Ronald and Ferdinand is indeed a very "special" one—and one that the U.S. hopes to maintain with whoever succeeds the Philippine dictator.

Observers here suspect that, in spite of the belated announcement of Manila as a stop on Reagan's agenda for his November tour, in fact he never intended to miss it. □

# Developers Eye South of Market



Emil De Guzman

## WHAT'S IN IT FOR THE POOR?

By VINCE REYES and EDWIN BATONGBACAL

The San Francisco Department of City Planning has a scale model that faithfully replicates every street and building in the "City by the Bay." Curiously, the 500-acre area south of downtown's main thoroughfare known as the South of Market shows blocks of high-rise office buildings, luxury condominiums, parking lots, shopping malls, and an imposing sports arena—instead of the ramshackle buildings that stand there now. This is the future of San Francisco as far as the city planners are concerned. South of Market is a developer's dream, San Francisco's final frontier.

But the model as an architect's vision does not reveal the social and political issues involved in thrusting San Francisco's famous skyline deeper into the cityscape. Indeed, the transformation of the South of Market into an extension of the financial district is now about to become a battle-royale between developers on one side and residents and small businesses on the other.

To developers like the Southern Pacific Land Development Company, and the Canada-based Olympia and York, the area is a potential source of huge profits in tourism and commercial leases.

"Pro-growth" organizations like the San Francisco Planning and Urban Research argue that the South of Market is a blighted neighborhood which could be torn down without much loss, and with great benefit to the city. And no one would argue that the South of Market is not a typical slum.

However, as in any slum, throngs of people live there because they have no other place to go. What happens to them in the course of redevelopment? The city planners have no answers and the developers couldn't care less.

The heart of the district consists of light manufacturing industries, and small businesses like auto repair shops and restaurants. The "alley streets," as they are called, are narrow one-way streets with aging apartment buildings, tenements, cheap hotels and warehouses.

The neighborhood has historically been a point of entry for wave after wave of immigrants—Irish, Jewish, French, Greek, and then Filipinos and Southeast Asian refugees. The low-cost housing available there, despite its condition, also remains an affordable alternative for senior citizens, gays, artists, and small struggling businesses. But living there is not nice nor easy.

The gateway to the South of Market is the city's notorious skid row. A three-block length of 6th Street is infamously known for its endless stream of some of society's most down-trodden transients. On any warm day it is not unusual to see a score of raggedly-dressed men, unconscious on the sidewalk, soaked in their own urine or vomit. The most dilapidated roach-ridden hotels in town have become favored stopping places because of cheap rents.

According to the San Francisco Police Department records, the South of Market crime rate is excessively high. Statistics on assault, robbery and rape are high relative to the rest of the city. The elderly is the sector most victimized by muggings and purse-snatchings.

The health situation in the neighborhood is also dismal. Dr. Shirley Cachola, director of the South of Market Clinic, the only clinic in the area, reports that the residents do not receive sufficient medical care on a regular basis. The rate of skin infections, hepatitis and tuberculosis is alarmingly high.

Penny-pinching owners of slum hotels were caught last winter turning off heat and hot water. Worse, slumlords who are waiting to sell their property for big bucks to future developers see no need to spend money repairing their buildings. Mysterious fires have also hit the district like a plague. Arson is one of the known ways for slumlords to evade the responsibility of upgrading their buildings while waiting for developers to buy up their land.

Yet this blighted area remains home for a considerable number of people—not because they prefer to live there but because they simply have to.

The city government bureaucracy is well aware of this South of Market community. In fact, Environmental Impact Reports recognize that Filipinos, gays and senior citizens will be adversely affected by the wide range of proposed commercial construction in the area.

Filipinos are singled out as one of the major sectors to be displaced by redevelopment because they comprise 5,000 of the total 18,000 families residing in the area. The Filipino community's presence is very evident in the neighborhood. An array of social services and community centers that cater to largely Filipino clientele have established themselves along with three grocery stores, two large congregation churches, a bilingual education center, a childcare center, a health clinic, and a senior citizen center. The low-cost housing plus the existence of these community institutions continue to make the South of Market a settling point for newly-arrived

Filipino immigrants. The majority of Filipinos who live in the neighborhood work in the lower paying jobs in the hotel and restaurant service industry in nearby downtown.

Because of the city's redevelopment plans, the entire community rests uneasy.

Although the district has been slated for redevelopment since just after World War II, city officials, federal funding sources, organized labor interests, and South of Market merchants and residents have never been able to agree on a compromise plan. But residents know that sooner rather than later, they will have to move.

Over the last decade, development pressure created by San Francisco's high-rise office boom and the Yerba Buena Project (which literally sliced up the neighborhood with the building of the Moscone Convention Center, recently named as the site of the 1984 Democratic Convention) have nearly encircled the district. New projects worth billions of dollars are under construction or on the drawing boards. Now surrounded to the north, south and west, South of Market's remaining residents and small businesses sense their imminent dislocation.

To the southwest will be Showplace Square designed to make San Francisco an "international trade center" with acres of wholesale markets, gift centers and trade shows.

To the west the Canadian firm of Olympia and York will begin the construction of a mixed-use office, retail luxury hotel and residential complexes after having already cleared out a number of residential hotels, small stores, and inexpensive restaurants.

To the southeast, Southern Pacific will build Mission Bay dubbed a "city within a city," a multi-billion dollar project adding 50,000 daytime workers and 16,000 fulltime residents to the district.

To the northeast, the Redevelopment Agency and the City Planning Department are planning the construction of 2,000 condominiums and 3,700 units of mid- and high-rise housing combined with two million square feet of office space.

To top it all off, Bob Lurie, a local developer and owner of the San Francisco Giants, wants to build a new sports arena with several sites in the South of Market on the top of the list.

The city's neglect of those who will be dislocated by the parade of skyscrapers has always been an issue. Luxury living quarters and high rise office buildings will surely raise the cost of living in the area. More than likely, the district will be completely gentrified by corps of white-collar professionals as residents.

The fact is that elderly, low-income workers and immigrants will be out of place in the future South of Market. Worse, the city is running out of places for people to move to. Up until now, the City Planning Department and the major develop-

ers have not guaranteed a commitment to build low- or moderate-income housing in the district.

Ed de la Cruz of the Filipino-American Advocacy Consortium wants to know what plans the city has for the Filipino community which will be forcibly dismantled by redevelopment. "If you're tearing something down you'll have to replace it... we want to know where we're going," he stressed. The FAAC was formed two years ago by people concerned about the social conditions in the South of Market, in particular, services for the youth, immigrant rights and the massive human dislocation caused by the construction of the Yerba Buena Center.

Over the last two years, the South of Market residents, conscious of the threat posed against the community by massive private development, have come together in a number of broad coalitions. The South of Market Alliance and the Mission Bay Coalition composed of the diverse interests of the community are readying for confrontation with the city and the developers.

The SOMA recognizes the importance of uniting the whole community around a program for fighting back. The Alliance is gathering neighborhood input and support for its program. Member organizations like the FAAC are involved in petition drives to get the city into a dialogue with the community.

Activists leading the fightback realize that they will have to become sophisticated community advocates in order to deal effectively with their adversaries. The SOMA is currently fashioning a comprehensive land-use program for the South of Market which it will propose to the city. Key to the proposal will be provisions which require developers to take concrete responsibility for building affordable housing for displaced residents.

All of the community groups stress that they are not anti-development. In fact, most feel that the city should put some money into making the blighted district a more decent place to live in. What the groups are against is the lack of concern and definitive plans for the people who will be forced to leave their homes.

"There is a community of poor people who will get displaced and poor people just don't go away," exclaims Kay Pachtner of the SOMA. The displaced will not find any other open areas of cheap housing in San Francisco. Pachtner adds, "The developer's and the city's lack of concern for where the displaced will go is actually a not-very-well disguised form of racism," as the people who will be displaced are mostly racial minorities—Filipinos, Southeast Asians, Blacks, and Latinos.

As the battle lines get drawn, what emerges is a classic case of the big bucks v. the little people. It is a scene repeated in many major metropolises, where redevelopment is bent on mining inner cities for their lode of real estate and commercial profits. □

## Reagan On Low-Cost Housing

Federal housing expenditures are going to take a beating if President Ronald Reagan's 1984 low-income housing budget proposals pass through Congress.

With the first major housing legislation since 1980, Reagan is proposing a 94% cut for the Department of Housing and Urban Development. With the absorption of unused housing funds left over from the Carter administration into other areas of the budget, Reagan's proposal adds up to a whopping 180% decrease for HUD.

In comparison, Carter's housing appropriations for fiscal year 1981, although by no means generous, was \$30,880 billion—Reagan's 1984 fiscal year proposal is a paltry \$7,940 billion.

Reagan's answer to the demand for low-income housing is a voucher system which would permit people to shop around for housing and determine what part of their income can be used for shelter. HUD Secretary Samuel R. Pierce, Jr., says the vouchers are a "more human, more socially

positive and cost-effective means of meeting the shelter needs of our nation's poor," claiming that vouchers would help poor people "afford good housing in the broader community, not isolated in projects."

This presupposes that sufficient and adequate housing already exists to accommodate poor families. Since no new low-cost housing construction is included in Reagan's plan, the vouchers will rely mainly on existing housing stock which is already inadequate.

Additionally, with the loss of federal funds, tenants are now having to make up the difference because public housing rents have increased from 25% to 30% of tenant's gross incomes. Minorities comprise 60% of the public housing population with their income averaging only 27% of the median national income per household.

Reagan's plan is consistent with his policy of lessening federal government responsibility for social programs, and affecting cuts in this area. □

# June 12 Reflects Friction With Consulate

TORONTO—An estimated 4,000 people celebrated Philippine National Day here with a barrio fiesta at Seton Park on June 11. The next day, across town, the consulate-inspired National Congress of Filipino Canadian Associations held its own celebration in Riverdale Park.

The distinction between these two celebrations lies squarely in the controversy and strong political differences in the Filipino community over the "Philippine issue."

On the one side, the Philippine National Day Committee asserted in their June 11 program, that PND "symbolizes for Filipinos their longing for freedom and independence." The Committee slated June 12th "to pay tribute to our rich national

heritage and to recognize the many contributions we have made in the social, economic, political, and cultural life of our adopted country."

Among the sponsors of the barrio fiesta were the Coalition Against the Marcos Dictatorship, the Association of Working Women, Kababayan Community Center, and the Parkdale Action Committee Against Racism.

Aside from *Palaro* games, a *Pasarapan ng Luto* Contest, and cultural shows, the fiesta-goers watched a PACAR skit on the racism experienced by domestics. A skit prepared by CAMD on the U.S. bases drew much applause.

These activities were in keeping with the message the committee wanted to pro-

mote throughout the event: the condemnation of the racist notion that immigrants take away jobs; opposition to U.S. war policies and Canada's involvement in testing the cruise missile; and opposition to the presence of U.S. bases in the Philippines.

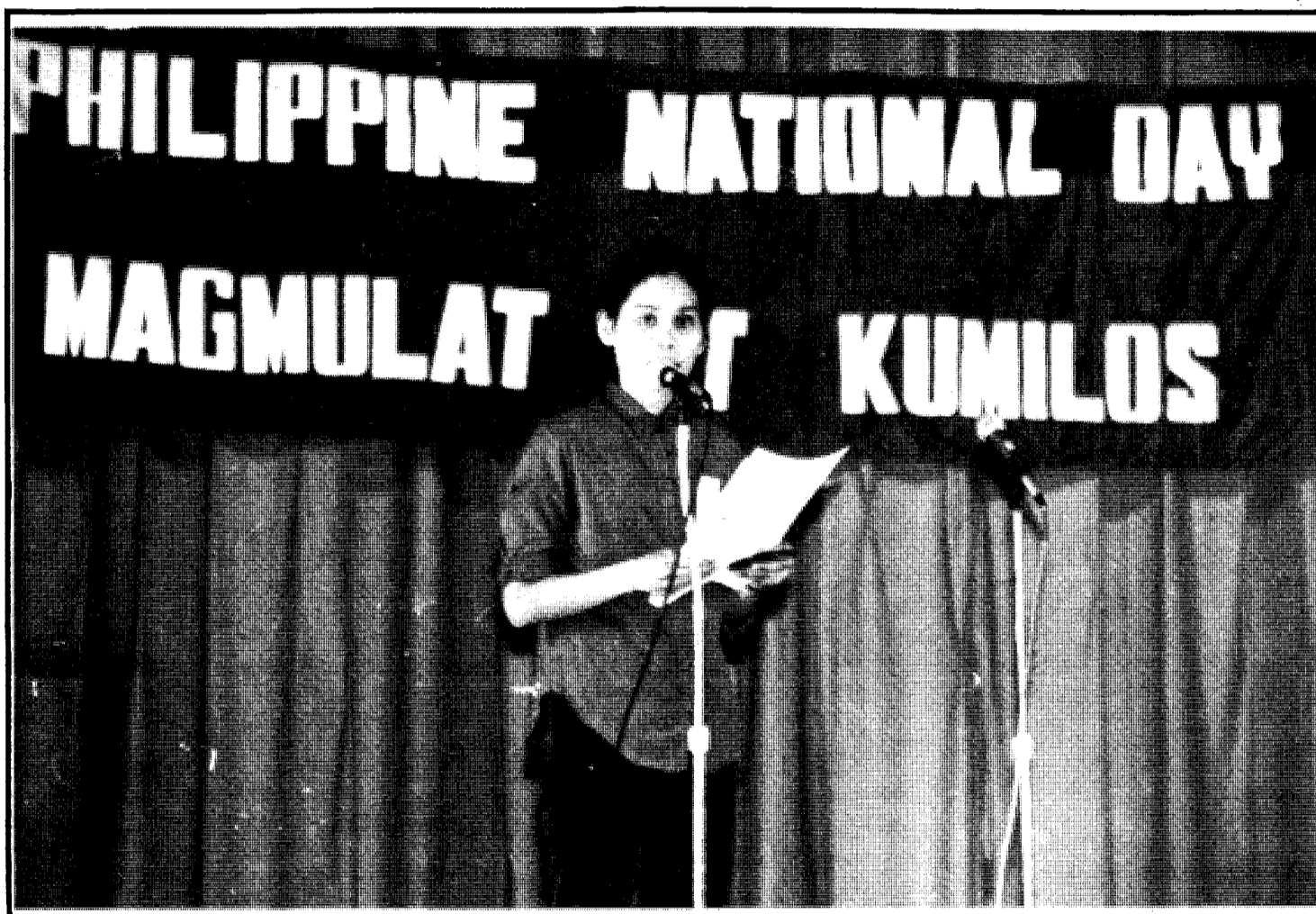
On the other side, the NCFCA and *Atin Ito*, a pro-Marcos newspaper sponsored separate "Philippine Independence Day" events which included a motorcade, flag-raising ceremony, a picnic in Riverdale Park, a ball and a beauty contest.

Though the NCFCA is a consulate initiative, "independent" businessmen and other organizations in the umbrella group were careful not to promote the consulate, believing they would lose public support for their events if they did. An estimated

800 people attended this competing celebration, although organizers claimed 5,000.

What proved to be most upsetting for the pro-consulate camp was a motorcade organized by the CAMD to counter theirs. The banners and slogans from the CAMD cars read "No Independence with the Presence of U.S. Bases in the Philippines"; "No Independence with U.S. Economic Control"; and "Free All Political Prisoners."

"The consulate has developed very insidious ways to get accepted by the community," states Ging Hernandez, co-coordinator of the PND. "They have the same strategy for the U.S. and Canadian Filipino communities." □



"Awaken and Act" was the theme of this year's Philippine National Day held in New York City last July 11, 1983.

Departing from big picnic fiesta-type affairs of previous years, PND organizers innovatively used a workshop format where the Filipino community could address and share experiences as an immigrant community in the U.S. "We hoped this learning opportunity would leave people with a better understanding of what's going on around them," states the PND's Committee's Ding Pajaron. "A lot of people were interested in what all the issues meant, and how to respond to them."

Entitled "Feeling the Pinch? What It's Like to be an Immigrant in the U.S. Today," the first workshop elaborated on the issues facing immigrant communities in the U.S., the use of immigrants as a cheap source of labor, the present hyped-up racism, and the Simpson/Mazzoli Bill.

"The Philippines, Our Troubled Homeland—Should We Still Care?" the second workshop, focused on the increasing repression in the Philippines and the unconditional support from the U.S., and the extension of repression to U.S. communities.

The workshops were followed by cultural presentations by Folklorico Filipino, Tahavika performing indigenous Philippine music, the Woodside Children's Chorus, songs from the Salvadoran and other liberation movements. ■

## FM's Diplomats

# Grabbing Every Chance to Score

Hot in pursuit of the Filipino community's support, President Marcos' diplomatic corps in the U.S. seems to be grabbing every imaginable chance to gain influence for the regime.

Two pro-Marcos newspapers, the *California Examiner* and the *Filipino Catholic* reported that Los Angeles Consul General Armando Fernandez, other consulate officials and a few "community educators" have designed a Philippine History course to be taught at California State University, Dominguez Hills in the Spring 1983 quarter. Supposedly, the course will be held in the reception hall of the Philippine consulate. It was reported to have the approval of University President Dr. Donald Gerth.

The local Coalition Against the Marcos Dictatorship/Philippine Solidarity Network immediately complained to the university that such a course on Philippine History and culture would be politically suspect given who designed its content. Also, it would "represent an endorsement of the Marcos dictatorship" on the part of the university. "It is a regime that has abolished academic freedom" and tampered with Philippine history and culture to promote the Marcoses and their "New Republic." CSUDH responded by saying that although the course had been discussed, no such class "was offered and is not scheduled at present."

University officials acknowledged, however, that they were consulted by Fernandez but clarified that CSUDH would assume full responsibility for curriculum content. Also, active planning was postponed with the sudden death of the proposed instructor, Dr. Mila Ruiz. This however, would not prevent "something developing in the future," according to CSUDH.

Meanwhile, Philippine First Brother-In-Law and Ambassador to the U.S. Benjamin "Kokoy" Romualdez convened

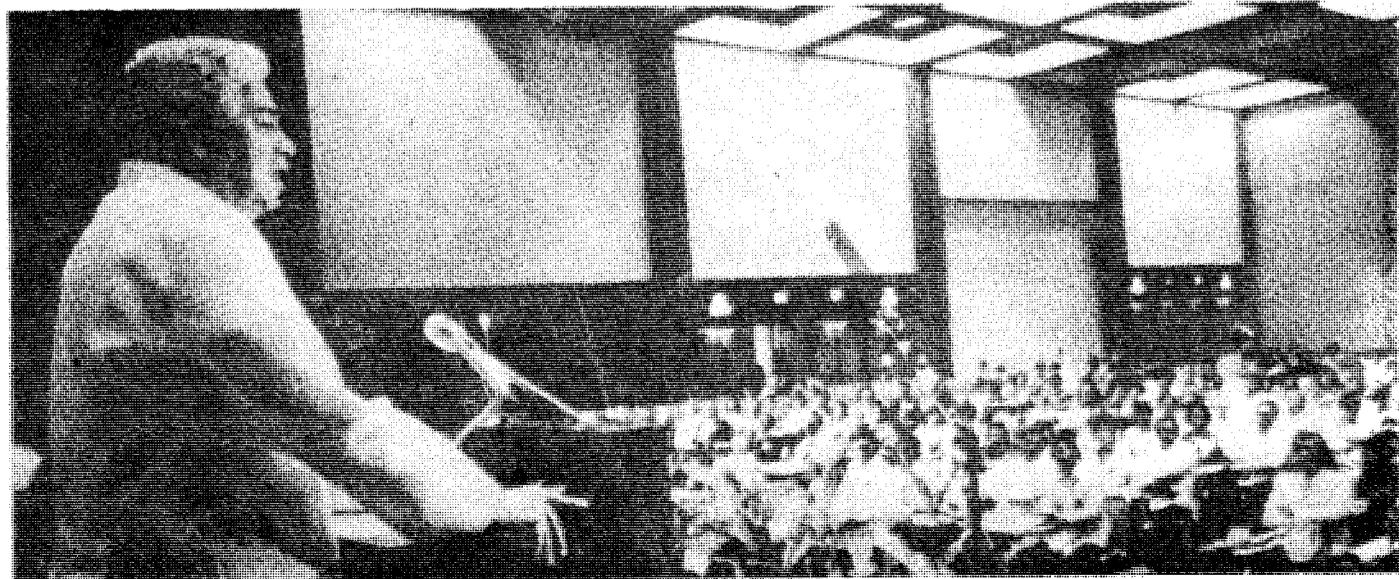
the Second National Congress of Filipino American Organizations at the Washington, D.C. Convention Center last June while his consular corps was busy jetting the entertainment extravaganza "Kumustahan" all over the continental United States. (See *AK*, Vol. IX, No. 5.)

Staying away from an overt promotion of the Marcos regime, Romualdez struck a pose more appealing to Filipinos: as a champion and advocate of Filipino professional success in the U.S. Romualdez' keynote address urged Filipinos to "go

beyond being beneficiaries of the American dream" and to become "contributors to the development and progress of America."

Casting aside prejudice as an obstacle to this goal, he went on to say, "it is possible to attain a position of importance in the mainstream of American life, a role in the structure of power that will enhance Filipino interests."

The Ambassador's audience, mostly professionals from almost every state in the nation, no doubt appreciated his remark. The 300 delegates formed a nationwide organization called the Philippine-American Friendship Society under the implicit sponsorship of the embassy. □



Touting "unity," Philippine Ambassador Benjamin T. Romualdez spearheads the Philippine-American Friendship Society.



# Reading, 'Riting, 'Rithmetic and Racism

By VICKY PEREZ

A great deal of alarm over the sorry state of American education is being raised by both government officials and the media. But far too little alarm is being sounded over the Reagan administration's proposed solution to the crisis.

Indeed, there is a crisis and much of it is reflected in the deterioration of the system of public education. There is reportedly a 13% rate of functional illiteracy among 17-year-olds, reaching as high as 40% for minority youths. Four-fifths of this age group supposedly cannot write a persuasive essay. And the statistics go on and on, lamenting the incredible fact that in this highly developed capitalist society, Jack and Jill have trouble reading and writing.

The U.S. ruling circles have tacked on to the gloomy picture their own particular worry, namely the impact of the educational crisis on the competitiveness of the U.S. economy.

Said the Reagan-appointed National Commission for Excellence in Education, "Our nation is at risk. Our once un-challenged pre-eminence in commerce, industry, science and technological innovation is being overtaken by competitors throughout the world . . ." We have committed an "unthinkable act of unilateral educational disarmament . . . a tide of mediocrity threatens our very future as a nation."

In a speech before the commission, Reagan stated, "We're still the world's technological leader. But to be stronger, we have to be smarter."

Reagan's solution to the crisis stresses a "return to the basics" but incorporates as well the political and ideological hallmarks of his administration.

schools to private schools. The notion that bad quality education is synonymous with racially-mixed schools, has made private schools commercially viable once more.

Characteristically, the Reagan administration is not moving to upgrade public education or these programs as a whole, but is encouraging resegregation and "white flight" as key components of its solution. Thus, his policy combines assaults on federal enforcement of civil rights guidelines on education, with subsidies to private schools.

## SCUTTling CIVIL RIGHTS

The past two decades of decline in education, Reagan claims, "were years when federal presence in education grew and grew." Public education, he said, went downhill after federal courts tried to correct such problems as racial segregation, sex discrimination and lack of opportunity for the handicapped. In a speech before the National Student Councils in June, Reagan claimed this effort distracted the schools from their main purpose of providing quality education.

While the administration has openly thrown several challenges at federal enforcement of school busing, it has found other ways to circumvent civil rights efforts in education.

One way of limiting "federal control" is through the tactic of block grants. Block grants would consolidate the funds for 25 federal school aid programs into two blocks of funds. States can use the funds in any way they desire, even if they are not used for their intended purposes of aiding the educationally disadvantaged, the handicapped, or children in schools undergoing desegregation. Block grants represent the administration's way of returning control of education to the states.

says an instructor in Hayward, California.

Former education secretary Shirley Hufstедler decried Reagan's move saying, "We were virtually the last industrialized nation to give education ministerial rank. It is hard to believe that we will be the first to take it away."

The administration has also found a hook that would satisfy his rightwing constituents while undermining civil rights in education at the same time. Reagan, in consultation with Jerry Falwell of the Moral Majority, is pushing a constitutional amendment allowing "voluntary school prayers." School prayer is viewed as a weak link in federal constitutional mandates over the schools.

If the administration successfully overturns federal enforcement of the separation of church and state, it is believed that the enforcement of other aspects of the constitution, civil rights in particular, will be severely undermined. School prayer is also part of Reagan's idea of "going back to basics."

## SUBSIDY TO WHITE FLIGHT

In the guise of advocating parental control in schooling, Reagan has put forward his most vivid assistance to "white flight" or quality education for the middle class: subsidy to private schools.

Tuition tax credits are being proposed to give families sending their kids to private schools tax breaks. An estimated \$2.5 billion annually is expected to be diverted to non-public schools when this program becomes fully functional. For those who are "genuinely poor," Reagan is proposing federally funded vouchers students can use to pay for the private school of their choice.

These proposals come on the heels of serious attempts to give tax exemptions to schools that discriminate racially.

Finally, the administration places much of the burden of solving the school crisis on the shoulders of school-teachers, unmindful of the government neglect that has worsened their working conditions. Implicitly blaming poor teaching for much of education's decline, Reagan is proposing a merit system where "good" teachers will be rewarded with pay increases of up to \$7,000 a year. Merit pay is a clever way of deflecting criticisms and undermining the teachers' bargaining strength. "It's time to stand up to the unions on the subject of faculty scales," stated Bell.

The 1.7 million member National Education Association in particular has been the most vocal opponent of the proposed merit pay program. Minority teachers are also aware that the highly subjective standards for merit pay will exclude them from fair pay increases as racism will inevitably influence these standards.

## QUALITY FOR WHOM?

All in all, Reagan's solution to the school crisis is a warmed over "separate but equal" policy in education. Only, it will actually amount to separate and highly unequal effects, with only the education of white, middle class Americans being brought back to "excellence and quality."

Its overall slant has led the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights to issue a stinging condemnation of Reagan's role in education, demanding that the Administration "halt efforts to reduce federal civil rights enforcement in education (and forsake) fundamental national policy developed over more than a quarter of a century."

For those who will be left out of the picture in the Reagan drive for educational excellence, the bad can only be expected to turn for the worse.

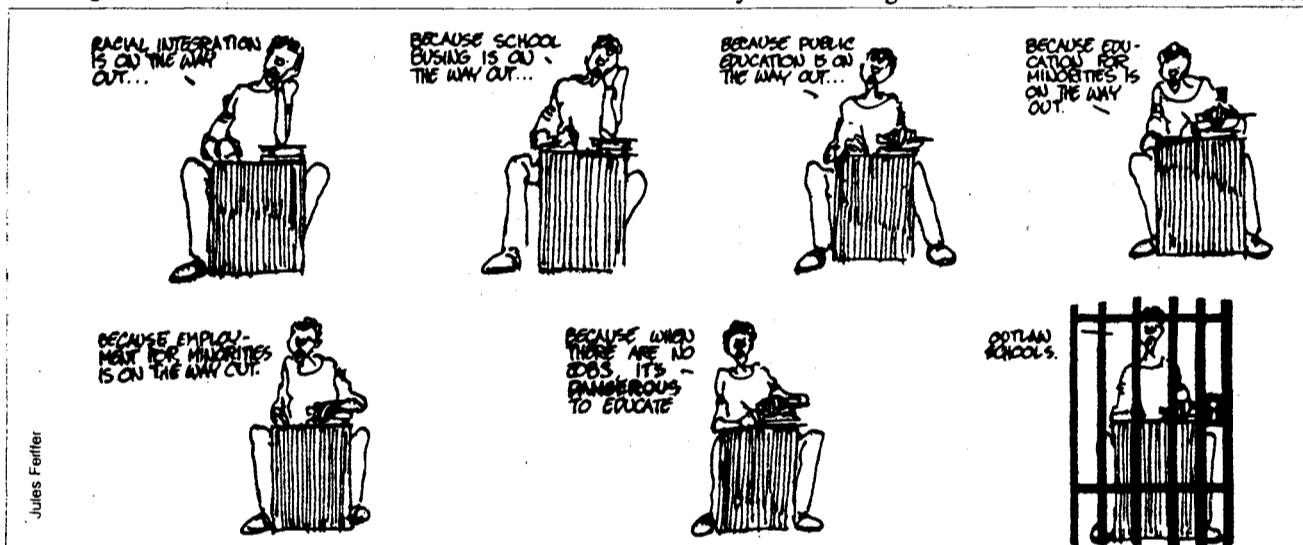
Minority students are the dominant population in the largest city school districts in the country. In Los Angeles, minorities represent 76% of the total school district population; San Francisco, 83%; New York, 74%; and these percentages are growing, says the Joint Center for Political Studies.

Budget cuts, both federal and state have had disastrous effects on the quality of education in these schools. For instance, California's Proposition 13 which resulted in a 57% reduction in property taxes, caused 11,000 educational employees to lose their jobs. Summer schools, after-school programs and school meals have been eliminated or severely reduced. The situation gets worse in other states.

Overcrowding, lack of books, teaching materials and staff shortages make the conditions in these schools so atrocious, says Goodman, that 70 to 80% of those graduating from high school are about two years behind the level they should be.

For minority students, the only escape from the problems in the schools is to drop out. For minority youth, the dropout rate reaches 50% in some districts.

What would the impact of Reagan's racialized solution to the education crisis be for minorities? To say it would be unspeakable is an understatement. □



## DEFENSE FIRST

To be sure, he made it clear that the educational system will have to heal itself on a very tight budget, because his priority still is making America stronger—militarily. Condemning the federal role in education before a Republican audience, Reagan interjected, "There is one area where the federal government has clearly neglected its responsibility, and that is in the area of national defense."

Thus, for the 1984 national budget, Reagan has requested over \$235 billion for the Department of Defense, but only \$13.5 billion for the Department of Education. In other words, the crisis in education will have to be resolved in the context of his guns-not-butter austerity program.

As with his approach to the crisis in other social services such as housing, medical aid and welfare, his outlook on education is to assure its quality for white middle-class Americans at the expense of minorities. A closer look at Reagan's proposal to increase free competition between private and public schools and strengthening local and parental control over education confirms his basic stance toward race relations.

Governmental neglect of public education has been the main source of the present crisis. Without progressive infusions of public funds, and constant checks to determine the modern needs of the system, schools have suffered from overcrowding and deterioration of teaching and training facilities. This deterioration has been most severe in inner city areas, where the school populations dwarf existing teaching capacities and school facilities. These areas are also heavily populated by minorities.

Knowing that public schools in white neighborhoods or suburbs have not suffered as drastically as schools in minority areas, civil rights agitation have forced federal courts to order equal access to them by minorities and to order other programs, such as bilingual education, to aid the disadvantaged. Over the years, these efforts—especially segregation through busing—have met resistance from white neighborhoods and schools. This

resistance has also led to a "white flight" from public "State after state," says George Kaplan, a Washington, D.C. freelance writer, "the level of popular commitment to education is low."

State and local commitment to minority access to education is even lower. "Many of the city and state officials cater to the racist fears of their constituents by opposing busing and other desegregation efforts," Victor Goodman, an educational policy analyst in Los Angeles stated. There is no vested interest among these officials, he said, to promote access for minorities, since their constituents' and their own children use suburban or private schools. "They have no first hand knowledge, or concern for what's going on in the schools outside their neighborhood." Financially, the consolidation will result in a 25% cut in federal education funds, and another 20% of what is left will be used for the administration of the funds. Eventually, even the block grants will be phased out. "One of the worst kept secrets in Washington," states Kaplan, "is that these grants are a purely transitional device, scheduled for elimination in less than three years."

## A JOKE AND A PRAYER

In keeping with the tactic of dodging equality-in-education guidelines, Reagan is intent on following through with his campaign promise of dismantling the Department of Education formed during the Carter administration.

Tasked with dispensing federal funds to projects aiding the disadvantaged, the department was referred to by top Reagan aide Edward Meese III as "a joke." Even if the department is not dismantled immediately, Reagan appointee Secretary of Education Terrel Bell has already done much damage.

One of Bell's first acts as secretary was to neutralize the *Lau* regulations requiring districts to provide bilingual education for their English-limited students. Bell is known for his anti-public school stand. "Appointing Bell was like putting the fox in charge of the chicken coop,"

Domingo v. Marcos Civil Suit

# Judge Changes Mind; R.P. Off the Hook

Special to the AK

The charges against the Philippine and U.S. governments in the *Domingo v. Marcos* civil suit were dismissed last July 14, prompting sharp denunciations from the Committee for Justice for Domingo and Viernes and its supporters.

Federal court judge Donald Vorhees entered an order on that date claiming that the suit's plaintiffs "failed to allege that the government of the Philippines through its agents, has committed any 'tortious act' in the United States."

"We are outraged because despite all the strong evidence showing direct collusion between these two governments," charged CJDV national coordinator Cindy Domingo, "it seemed the judge merely wanted the case off his hands!"

## REVERSES EARLIER DECISION

Vorhees reversed an earlier decision he made during oral arguments on April 21, where he indicated that charges against the Philippine government would not be dismissed.

The plaintiffs' attorney, Mike Withey, attacked the judge's decision as "baseless," clarifying that the suit alleged tortious acts which include murder, assault and battery and conspiracy.

"We pointed that out all throughout the complaint. We showed the Philippine government was totally responsible for the murder of Domingo and Viernes," Withey stated.

He further elaborated that the civil suit alleged Philippine officials had secret meetings in Manila, Honolulu, San Francisco, and Seattle, and that "Baruso was present in some of these meetings, particularly the ones in Seattle."

In addition, the suit pointed to the Philippine government for providing the money for the murder contract, which was transmitted to former union president Constantine "Tony" Baruso, and in turn to [members of] the Tulisan gang who executed the killings.

between the Domingo/Viernes case and the Orlando Letelier incident, wherein the courts ruled the latter to be a result of a tortious act. The ruling disallowed Chile from using the immunity plea. Chile was eventually held responsible for the murder of the former Chilean official who served under the Marxist Allende government.

## TECHNICALITIES

While Judge Vorhees dismissed the charges against the U.S. government, he allowed civil suit lawyers to amend the

"We are not in the least bit deterred by the court's ruling."

—Cindy Domingo, CJDV



Withey also maintained that the Marcos government was directly involved in the attempt to cover up the murder conspiracy, and to prevent Baruso from being charged criminally.

"Each of these acts are tortious and clearly violates the civil rights of people who reside in this country," Withey stated. "It is very difficult for us to understand how the court reached its conclusion. The Philippine government must be made to answer for the deaths of Gene and Silme."

CJDV spokespersons cited similarities

complaint by allowing them to submit more facts showing the government's involvement in greater detail.

The decision, however, dismissed the role of governmental agencies, i.e. Central Intelligence Agency, the U.S. Naval Intelligence, etc., as well as the John Does cited in the case. Concerning individuals like former secretary of state Alexander Haig and current Attorney General William French Smith, the judge dismissed their roles in their personal capacity; thus, monetary damages cannot be sought from

By B. MARZAN

As its provisions would make it easier for Malacañang to get back at opponents in the U.S., the U.S.-R.P. extradition treaty is generally seen as a "life and death" issue by the anti-Marcos movement. Before this treaty can be ratified, however, the Reagan administration has to change current U.S. extradition law to accommodate the treaty's "streamlined" provisions. Reagan's initiatives in this regard is reflected in two bills that have sent chills to other communities most likely to be affected by a more "effective" extradition process—the Palestinians, the Irish, and the Central Americans, just to name a few.

One bill, House Resolution 3347, came before the House subcommittee on crime for "mark-up" (approval or disapproval) last June 8, a step before the bill can go any further in an amended or unamended form. We sent one of our reporters for a first hand look at how Congress is taking up this "life and death" matter.

Would there be impassioned speeches in defense of civil liberties? Or ringing condemnations of Ronald Reagan's complicity with his repressive allies as Republican conservatives try to defend the importance of tough extradition laws in the service of a tough foreign policy? Will opponents of repressive regimes find recourse in the House subcommittee on crime?

Well, not exactly. You see, Congress is just a barometer of the prevailing political mood in the country and the subcommittee deliberations on HR 3347 is a good indication of just how rightwing conservatism has the upper hand in the U.S. today.

June 8 was a typically muggy day in the capital—Washington, D.C. was originally a swamp. But it is very instructive to see, through this subcommittee hearing on extradition, just how bogged down the liberals are in maintaining credibility by conceding to conservative prejudices. This is how the, uh, fight went in the subcommittee, if you can call it a fight.

The conservatives, notably Rep. William Hughes (D-N.J.) and Rep. Harold Sawyer (R-MI) knew what they wanted and were out to get it. Sawyer even openly caucused with the State Department officials present to

## Extradition Issue

# A Day at a Hearing on Capitol Hill

get more accurate readings of what the Reagan administration wished on certain questions.

They pressed hard on narrowing down what acts could be excluded from extradition. This meant that the "political offense" exception has to be gutted so that targets of extradition can no longer use "political persecution" as an effective defense.

The liberals, Rep. Bruce Morrison and Charles Schumer (D.-NY), both first term congressmen, were evidently unprepared to mount a serious challenge. Time and again, they would make opposing statements only to back down after the first retort from the conservatives. One sometimes got the distinct impression that they hadn't even read the bills thoroughly.

At one point, Morrison introduced an amendment saying that conspiracy to commit a crime should not necessarily be excluded from the "political offense" exception because anyone can be charged with conspiracy by a politically motivated foreign government.

Schumer backed him up, repeating that it would be easy to file trumped-up charges of conspiracy for political reasons.

All that Hughes had to do in response to this was to start appealing to anti-terrorist sentiments in the subcommittee. He argued that usually, the prime movers of a conspiracy "do not throw the bomb themselves." No sweat. The subcommittee was easily swayed against the amendment. Neither Morrison nor Schumer could argue back that repressive governments could use precisely Hughes' argument to get back at their political opponents.

However, the attempt to tighten the foreign policy grip on the extradition process, was most openly bared in the discussion over the amendment on bail and detention that Morrison introduced.

Morrison raised that bail standards for extradition cases should be similar to those

used in criminal cases in this country. He saw no reason why extradition targets can be jailed for up to 60 days without bail.

Schumer supported him again, pointing out that tougher bail provisions for extradition cases imply that "we would trust a



them as individuals.

The civil suit is seeking \$30 million in damages and "injunctive relief" which would legally prevent continued harassment of Filipino anti-Marcos activists residing in the U.S.

## SUPPORTERS NOT DETERRED

"We want to make it very clear that we are not in the least bit deterred by the court's ruling," remarked CJDV national spokesperson Cindy Domingo.

"If they want us to submit more facts, we will have no difficulty gathering documents as additional information has come to light, which thoroughly implicates the U.S. government in the conspiracy against the anti-Marcos movement and bares its cooperation with the Philippine infiltration plan," Domingo revealed.

Domingo did not express surprise that further obstacles have been thrown in the committee's path. She said the courts and the present political climate do not favor suits that charge the U.S. and foreign governments with wrongdoing and misconduct.

"From the moment we filed the suit, there has been a consistent pattern to squelch this case—by the Prosecuting Attorney's office, intelligence agencies, the State Department, and now the courts," she claimed.

The plaintiffs filed a motion for reconsideration of the judge's decision, which will "set forth in detail the operation of the Philippine infiltration plan, and establish the legal basis upon which the Philippines should be held liable for the murders."

In mid-August, an amended complaint will be filed which will enable the plaintiffs to "proceed against the U.S. defendants for both damages and injunctive relief." □

foreign government more than we would our own."

Arch-conservative Sawyer once again led the attack against the amendment. Without any hesitation, he virtually convicted every extraditable person saying that anyone who is sought by a foreign government would, of course, have a "tendency to flee." This is precisely the reason why such a person is in another country in the first place. (!!!)

He then went on to say that "it is but proper that the U.S. be more careful with someone requested by a foreign power pursuant to a treaty" than "someone of our own," just as "we would be more with somebody else's property."

This statement captured not only Reagan's push to give primacy to foreign policy interests in the extradition process, but also the utter disregard for the civil liberties of extradition targets.

The liberals failed completely to criticize this motivation. They found no importance in raising an alarm over the administration's attempt to tamper with the civil rights of U.S. persons just so it could strengthen the hand of its dictatorial allies.

As a result, it was easy as pie for the conservatives to paint extradition as purely a crime issue or that its main targets are embezzlers, terrorists, smugglers, and rapists.

On the issue of terrorism, no one of course, was willing to challenge the notion popularized by Reagan today that every revolutionary activity is an act of terrorism and is therefore a simple crime. Too costly for any liberal's credibility. Hence the conservatives only had to mention "bombs," "terror," etc. and everybody lined up with them.

All in all, any potential target of extradition sitting in on this hearing would not fail to get the impression that they have no serious defenders in Congress.

At one point, liberal Schumer made a flippant remark on the bail issue, referring to someone who "flew" instead of "fled," or something along that line. This caused a bi-partisan round of laughter and, as in many points during the hearing, the discussion degenerated into very casual repartee.

A lot of folks may be worried about Reagan's plans on extradition, but June 8 was just another day, another hearing in Capitol Hill for Republicans and Democrats alike. □

# Peso Devaluation Adds Fuel to the Fire

By CARLA MARIANO

On June 23, Ferdinand Marcos formally acknowledged that the Philippine economy is in sad shape. Supposedly responding to a report submitted by Central Bank Governor Jaime C. Laya, the Philippine president approved an official devaluation of the peso against the U.S. dollar by 7.3%, bringing the current rate down from ₱10.20:U.S.\$1 to ₱11:U.S.\$1. Within the short span of 18 months, the peso thus depreciated a full 25% from its rate of ₱8.20:U.S.\$1 in January of 1982.

The announcement received overwhelming praise from none other than U.S. Secretary of State George Schultz who visited Manila last June 25 (see story, page 1). Laya's report provided the clearest explanation for the move to a confused public. The new exchange rate, he explained, will reduce the price of Philippine exports and increase the costs of imports.

In other words, Philippine exports will at least temporarily become more competitive in the international market. Meanwhile the boost in costs fits neatly with the government's program of discouraging imports.

## PRICES OF EVERYTHING TO RISE

At the same time, Marcos wiped out government subsidies for oil products designed to buffer local consumers from the cost increase created by the peso's slow decline in value. Thus the price of petroleum products increased overnight by 6% to 11%. This despite the drop in OPEC prices internationally. Regime sources claimed that, in a period of belt-tightening, the government simply could no longer afford to buffer the public.

For the already hard-pressed Filipino public, all imported products including food, clothing and appliances will now be more expensive. The rise of the retail price of petroleum products automatically drives

Item	Quantity	Price		Increase (%)
		1972	1982	
rice	1 kg.	1.25	3.10	148
pandesal	50 gms.	0.04	0.35	775
evaporated milk	14 oz.	0.78	1.75	124
eggs (white leghorn)	1 doz.	3.17	9.00	183
salted eggs	1 doz.	5.31	14.20	167
daing, dilis	1 kg.	4.70	24.00	410
tuyo, tunsoy	1 kg.	4.90	20.00	308
bangus	1 kg.	4.85	15.00	209
galunggong	1 kg.	2.50	10.00	300
pork (pure meat)	1 kg.	7.20	22.00	205
chicken (dressed)	1 kg.	5.00	18.00	260
toyo	350 ml.	0.60	2.00	217
sugar	1 kg.	1.27	4.20	230
beer	350 cc	0.50	1.90 (320 cc)	280
AVERAGE PRICE INCREASE				272

up power rates, transportation, and shipping costs. Thus, anything that has to be manufactured or transported becomes more expensive as well. In other words, prices of everything will rise. The government already has increased bus and jeepney fares to 65 centavos for the minimum distance.

The latest disaster comes on top of an assault launched last January during which cutbacks in government social services were announced and low-level government employees were told that there will be no salary increases until the economy picks up.

## IMF SETS STRICT CRITERIA

The business sector, on the other hand, is generally pleased. Jose Concepcion, president of one of the largest food processors in the country, RFM Corp., insists

that the devaluation will allow businessmen to make better investment decisions and stabilize the peso for at least three to six months. Jaime Ongpin, president of Benguet Corp., lauded the change in policy. "All our revenue is in dollars, so it's good for us."

The devaluation and the hike in petroleum prices came as no surprise to observers of the Philippine economic scene. The International Monetary Fund and the World Bank set strict conditions for loans provided to the Philippines at the very beginning of this year. The conditions were necessary, the two institutions felt, in order to insure that the Marcos government at least be able to pay the interest on its U.S. \$18 billion foreign debt.

Strict economic performance criteria were established if the Philippines were to

avail of IMF's standby credit of 315 million special drawing rights, amounting to \$336 million. The Philippines was told to cut down its current account deficit, its overall balance of payments deficit, its net domestic assets, and new foreign borrowings.

Most controversially, it was told to cut back on government expenditures. The austerity measures drawn up by the international financing institutions were implemented early this year through Finance Minister and Prime Minister Cesar Virata.

## TURNING THE SCREWS TIGHTER

Given the overall trend, devaluation was just around the corner and had been rumored for months in Manila's coffee shops. It came at an appropriate moment—right after the IMF's midterm review of the standby credit programme. The IMF had targeted an overall payments deficit of \$598 million for the year. But the first quarter deficit had already hit \$343 million and Laya estimated that the figure for the first half might already reach \$562 million. It was time to turn the screws a little tighter on the Philippine economy.

In an all-out assault on the deficit, Marcos implemented other policy shifts such as rephrasing or suspending nearly half of its 11 major industrial projects and abolishing the Consumer Price Equalization Fund. The CPEF had been used by the government to cover import and consumer-price differentials, in particular subsidizing local oil prices. Consumers will now pay an estimated ₱20 million (\$1.9 million) a day in the form of higher prices.

Despite the inevitable adverse public reaction to the effects of the new austerity measures, Marcos is bent on showing the IMF that he has the political capacity to carry through its plans. This can intensify the hardship of the population and fuel the already turbulent political atmosphere in the country. Marcos will thus be forced to respond to the new situation in his usual manner—with increased repression. □

## Going Home . . .

Continued from page 6

One key question remains. Will Ferdinand Marcos go along with a U.S. policy shift? Marcos recently reminded one and all of his substantial clout. He threatened six visiting U.S. congressmen that he would establish a treaty with the Soviet Union if Congress does not approve the \$900 million aid package that is part of the renewed Bases Agreement. Some observers suggested that this was Marcos' way of expressing displeasure over U.S. overtures to the opposition.

There is no question that some degree of cooperation from Ferdinand will be necessary if U.S. plans to halt the polarization process are to succeed. For the opposition to gain some legitimacy, it needs room to maneuver. It must be allowed to re-establish some kind of popular base, or the image of one, a task impossible during Marcos' previous Made-in-Malacañang campaigns and elections. Marcos will have to tolerate Aquino. Will he or won't he put him in jail? That is the question.

How Marcos reacts to Aquino's return and the way he handles the 1984 elections will serve as the barometers to the degree of friction between the Philippine dictator and his Washington backers as they enter this new

phase.

Marcos' recent refusal to grant Aquino entry papers suggests that the Philippine dictator at this point is not inclined to go along with the scenario. In what amounted to a death threat, regime spokesmen in the U.S. told Aquino last July 19 that the Philippine government is unable to guarantee his safety from "hit squads" out to

## 'Marcos' recent refusal to grant Aquino entry papers suggests that the Philippine dictator at this point is not inclined to go along with the scenario.'

get him in the Philippines. Few observers here doubt that, if any hit squads are out to get Aquino, they are working for none other than Ferdinand Marcos.

Meanwhile, just in case he might later elect to crack down, Marcos and Enrile recently provided the excuse. Both issued stern admonitions via the media that the elite opposition is playing with fire by "flirting with the communists." Marcos warned that he has the opposition

thoroughly infiltrated and could crack down on them at any time.

The elite opposition, in turn, is expected to maintain a critical posture but one framed by the call for reconciliation. It is expected to distance itself from the left even more by posing as the "responsible" opposition. For Reagan, at least, it is comforting to know there is an indigenous force, apart from Marcos, that has staked its political fortune with the U.S. and that can be turned off and on at his bidding.

Contrary to his denials, Ninoy is returning home with high hopes. With the new signals from Washington, he and his liberal cohorts, can look forward to a departure from the lonely last three years. They can approach the 1984 elections with a vigor renewed by the thought that Washington is watching, calculating and developing scenarios that has *them* in the picture. However, their eager participation in the "national reconciliation" process would only revive Marcos' claims to a "working democratic system," and give his uphill struggle for legitimacy a much-needed boost.

It is not too hasty to conclude therefore, that despite his promise to maintain a heroic, critical stand against the regime, Ninoy Aquino is going home not to bury Marcos, but to praise him—essentially. In the phrase "critical collaboration," which Ninoy used often enough before his exile, "collaboration" is the more important word for Washington and, even for Marcos. □

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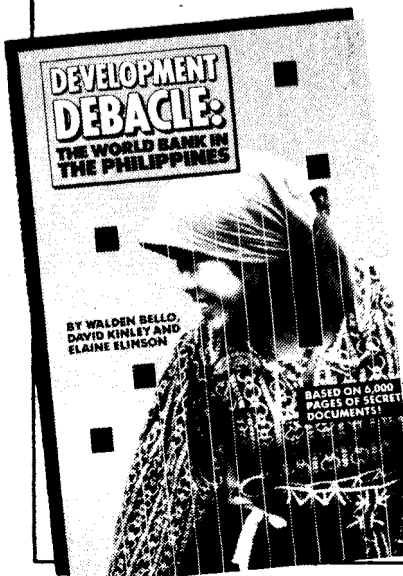
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By WICKS GEAGA

*"Roosevelt saved their lives by making them wards of the government. . . . It boils my old blood to think of the nerve of them. If they don't like America, let them go back to Japan!"—A letter to the Congressional Commission on the wartime internment of Japanese-Americans.*

To the 60,000 surviving Japanese-American internees of World War II, such impassioned words of hatred and bigotry sound too dangerously reminiscent of the racist hysteria that swept them and 60,000 others into degrading concentration camps all across the U.S.

Following its recent recommendation to compensate the Japanese-American internees, the congressional Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians received a barrage of letters condemning the proposed redress and arguing that the internment was fully justified. One writer described the commission's proposal as "the most absurd idea you guys in Washington ever came up with."

#### NOT A CONGRESSIONAL IDEA

The issue of redress and reparations did not originate within Congress. Since the early 1970s the Japanese American community, led by the Japanese American Citizens League has been demanding reparations for the internees. That campaign led Congress in 1980 to establish the present Commission, composed of a nine-member panel.

After studying the issue for nearly two years and hearing from 750 witnesses nationwide, the panel declared that there was no justification for the internment, and blamed it on war hysteria, racial hatred and a failure of political leadership. In recognition of "a grave injustice," the commission recommended that each surviving internee receive \$20,000 and a formal apology from the U.S. government.

No congressional action is expected for several years, however, and even then it remains doubtful whether Congress will implement the commission's recommendations, according to Ronald Ikejiri, Washington representative of the JAACL.

Nonetheless, the panel's findings, which include internal government documents, throw a devastatingly different light on the internment episode.

#### EXECUTIVE ORDER 9066

Ten weeks after the Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066 authorizing the removal of anyone from areas which might threaten the war effort. Lieutenant General J.L. De Witt, head of the Western Defense Command, singled out the Japanese as "an enemy race" and issued the order for their evacuation.

According to De Witt, "A Jap is a Jap. . . . It makes no difference whether he is an American citizen or not. . . ."

Thus, 120,000 Japanese Americans, two-thirds of whom were American citizens, were rounded up from the western half of Oregon and Washington and from all of California. Ordered to bring only what they could carry, the evacuees were given merely a few days to sell their land and possessions, most of which were sold at a fraction of their value or were lost during internment.

First herded into "Assembly Centers"—mostly fairgrounds or racetracks that provided animal stalls for shelter—they were eventually transferred to 10 "relocation camps" in California, Arizona, Utah, Wyoming, Arkansas, and Colorado.

According to the commission's findings, President Roosevelt ignored the unanimous assessment of the FBI, Naval Intelligence and his own personal intelligence

## Japanese-American Internment

# A DEBT STILL UNPAID

operative that the internment of Japanese Americans was unnecessary, and approved it anyway.

Under the guise of "national security" the constitutional rights of a whole people of color were violated "despite the fact that," as the commission stated, "not a single documented act of espionage, sabotage or fifth-column activity was committed by an American citizen of Japanese ancestry or by a resident Japanese alien on the West Coast."

In contrast, a secret study circulated in the War Department concluded that "the great bulk" of the German and Italian aliens "are believed to be thoroughly loyal to the United States." Consequently, only a few were detained and reviewed on an individual basis. For De Witt, it was adequate to reason that ". . . you just can't tell one Jap from another. They all look the same. . . . About the Germans and the Italians, you don't have to worry about them as a group. You have to worry about them purely as certain individuals."

#### EVACUATION ORDER CHALLENGED

Some Japanese-Americans refused to obey the evacuation orders. Fred Korematsu, Gordon Hirabayashi, and Minoru Yasui, separately challenged Roosevelt's decree, going all the way to the Supreme Court with the help of Quakers and American Civil Liberties Union lawyers.

The court upheld Executive Order 9066 on the grounds of "military necessity" and the three were given jail terms. They were later sent to internment camps for the duration of the war.

Newly found evidence shows, however, that the government deliberately withheld information that would have exonerated the three and totally undercut the official justification for the internment. FBI reports refuting De Witt's accusations that Japanese Americans were signalling enemy ships with lights and radio messages never reached the Supreme Court, according to documents unearthed by law professor Peter Irons through the Freedom of Information Act.



'All antagonists . . . gained handsomely from the Japanese-American tragedy . . .'

The three Japanese Americans have recently filed petitions to reopen their cases and reverse their 40-year-old convictions. Not seeking financial compensation, they aim primarily "to set the record straight because many people still believe evacuation was justified by military necessity."

#### LEGACY OF ANTI-ASIAN HOSTILITY

The racism which drove the Japanese Americans into detention camps in WWII had its roots in the early 1900s when anti-Asian fervor was already at a high pitch. The Chinese had just been legally excluded and cries of "the Chinaman must go" were still echoing wherever the pioneer Japanese settled.

Everywhere confronted by racial harassment, the new immigrants banded together to organize for better working and living conditions.

Eventually many became successful in farming and business ventures. By 1920 the Japanese had staked out a considerable portion of the agribusiness industry in California, producing crops valued at \$67 million.

At the point of internment, Japanese Americans owned 6,118 farms with a land value of \$72.6 million



Anti-Japanese American cartoon, 1943.

in California alone. About \$16 million of the \$25 million Los Angeles County flower industry was in Japanese American hands. In Seattle, Japanese Americans owned about 200 small hotels and boarding houses.

But as the new immigrants established themselves and achieved economic success, racial antagonism against them intensified. Discrimination against the Japanese Americans became official policy through laws denying U.S. citizenship and laws in some states forbidding land ownership. During periods of depression, the Japanese were convenient scapegoats for the nation's economic ills.

The widespread racist hysteria triggered by the bombing of Pearl Harbor was, therefore the climax of decades of simmering anti-Japanese sentiment, fueled by the press, prominent businessmen and politicians.

All antagonists—from the next door neighbor to the competing argibusness interests in California—gained handsomely from the Japanese American tragedy. Even the least experienced politician knew that the defense of minority rights amidst a hysterical racist atmosphere lost more votes than it gained.

President Roosevelt's calculated decision to extend internment until after the 1944 elections was based on this recognition.

As notes from a May 1944 Roosevelt cabinet meeting state, "The secretary of war raised the question of whether it was appropriate for the War Department, at this time, to cancel the Japanese exclusion orders and let the Japs go home. War, Interior and Justice had all agreed that this could be done without danger to defense considerations, but doubted the wisdom of doing it at this time before the election. . . ."

#### LOSSES INCALCULABLE

All told, the losses suffered by the internees were incalculable. A study conducted for the commission estimated income and property losses of up to \$2 billion in 1983 dollars. Thus, even in monetary terms alone, the proposed reparations fall far short of the actual financial losses.

But the 2,000 internee deaths from disease or lack of medical attention and the psychological trauma created by the camp's dehumanizing conditions, and from which thousands have never fully recovered, can hardly be translated into dollar figures.

Eventually, \$37 million was awarded to survivors through the Japanese American Evacuation Claims Act passed in 1948. However, less than 10% of the internees benefitted from the reparations law. It did not provide compensation for deaths, illness, injuries, job or educational losses, or emotional and psychological damage. Furthermore, the hostile atmosphere in society and in the courtroom intimidated many of the survivors from filing claims, limited as these were to proving loss of property.

#### REPARATIONS FULLY JUSTIFIED

Those championing reparations for the internees generally recognize that no amount of money can fully compensate the victims for their losses and sufferings. However, they stress that not only are redress and reparations justified, but they represent a commitment to prevent a similar recurrence of racial and national injustice. In the commission's own words: "Nations that forget or ignore injustices are more likely to repeat them."

Opponents, on the other hand, argue that it makes no more sense to pay the people of Japanese ancestry for past injustices than it would be to pay Black Americans and American Indians.

Needless to say, these same opponents are hostile to affirmative action, desegregated schools, compensation for violations of Indian treaty rights, civil rights legislation, and social programs aimed at correcting past injustices and mitigating present ones. The hysterical reactions to Japanese American reparations, therefore, are merely indicative of how little the substance of popular prejudice has changed over the years. □